Washington Looks at Moscow *by Adam Lapin*

NEW MASSES

FIFTEEN CENTS

October 15, 1940

A Vote - *Ja* Election?

AN EDITORIAL

The Invincibles *by Ruth McKenney*

What's Happening in Mexico

by Juan Sarabia

Mr. Mumford's "Mein Kampf"

by Samuel Sillen

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Between Ourselves

A DAY after last week's issue appeared on the newsstands, there were dozens of phone calls and letters praising Samuel Sillen's first article in his current series. It was the quickest response to an NM piece since R. Palme Dutt's memorable articles brought the house down in midsummer. A telegram from a student at Columbia University: "Sillen's story first-rate. Am mailing fifty copies to Columbia faculty men as an antidote to the Butler poison." A writer who contributes frequently to the *Nation* and the *New Republic* (he wants his name withheld) noted that "for the first time have the Cowley-Mumford-MacLeish crowd been told off in a manner that should give them many a sleepless night. I know those bright boys. The somersault is part of their regular morning setting-up exercises. Sillen deserves cheers for his fine work. . . ." And from A. M. S. in Brooklyn: "I am sending along this dollar as my insurance fee that Sillen's articles continue to be published." Sillen's third article will deal with the remaining breast thumpers in the moral conversion, and in his fourth and final article, he will discuss a positive program for American intellectuals, all of whom, he shows, are by no means hysterically denying everything they professed in calmer days.

Other articles in immediate issues of NM that will be must reading include A. B. Magil's appraisal of Roosevelt's eight years in office. We prophesy that the Magil analysis will be widely quoted in the remaining weeks of the campaign. Readers will recall that two years ago he wrote a series for NM on the Roosevelt administration, which provided fresh insight into the works of the squire from the Hudson Valley. Ruth McKenney next week also takes a gander at FDR. Bruce Minton's devastating profile of William Bullitt will appear shortly. From London, Allan Hutt, author of the *Post War History of the British Working Class,* writes that he is preparing an article which he hopes will reach us "in not too mangled form," since, he explains, "it's extremely difficult to get any sort of objective reporting past our censorship." Joshua Kunitz will continue his discussion of the Soviet Union.

Hester G. Huntington, whose letter to Lewis Morris, Oklahoma County prosecutor, we quoted in these columns two weeks past, writes to amend a slip we made at that time. Eli Jaffe, NM contributor, and several others imprisoned in Oklahoma City, are facing trial not on charges of "treason" as we mistakenly said, but will be tried for criminal syndicalism. "More important," adds Mrs. Huntington, "is the fact that arrests and persecutions against Communists in Oklahoma arise not out of attempting to place a minority party on the ballot but expressly out of other conditions. 'Evidence' to be used against Bob Wood, Ina Wood, Eli Jaffe, and others does not consist of what these defendants said or did, but 'evidence' is based solely on books and literature seized in the Workers Bookshop in Oklahoma City, and out of a few homes."

We forgot to mention earlier that next week NM will publish a tribute to John Reed, by Michael Gold. Mike, who knew Reed when they both worked on the old *Masses,* recalls the spirit and courage which made Reed a great journalist and a great fighter. "This year the anniversary of John Reed," writes Mike, "takes on special poignance. The second round of war and revolution is upon us. . . . We are confronted with the same tests of personal manhood and social faith that he faced. John Reed passed his examinations with a magnificence that some of us may now begin to understand. . . ."

Mike will also be among the speakers at NM's memorial meeting for Reed on Sunday, October 20, 2:30 p.m., at Manhattan Center, 34th Street and 8th Avenue, N. Y. C. Earl Browder will speak on Reed's influence on American life. Among other participants are Art Young, who was an intimate of Reed's; Ruth McKenney, William Blake, Maurice Becker, Alter Brody. The famous painting of Reed by the late Robert Hallowell will be exhibited on the stage of the meeting hall. Marc Blitzstein will conduct the American People's Chorus in a section of his new opera *No for an Answer.* You may obtain tickets for the reserved section in advance for 50 cents at NM's office, 461 Fourth Avenue; the Workers Book Shop, 50 East 13th Street; and at the Bookfair, 133 W. 44th Street. Box office prices for the meeting will be general admission, 50 cents; reserved rows, $1.

Jean Lyon, recording secretary of the China Aid Information exchange, sends us the following letter: "The Burma Road, life line to China, is still closed, by agreement between Great Britain and Japan. Even such humane necessities as Red Cross trucks and gasoline with which to distribute medical supplies to bombed and war areas within China are prohibited from going over this road under the present agreement.

"This agreement will end on October 18. It is imperative that it not be renewed, and that the Burma Road be fully opened on October 18. The influence of the United States upon Great Britain can bring the opening of the road about.

"Messages to our government from groups like yours have done much to bring about the scrap metal embargo upon Japan which was announced last week and the extension of credits from this country to China. These two acts are acts for which our government should be commended. They are a part of a policy which should be further extended, if China's democracy is to be strengthened, and if America's democracy is to be secure. But the giving of aid to China, in credits or in relief supplies, will lose its effectiveness if the supply routes into China are not kept open.

"Will you join us in making your voice heard in Washington? We are enclosing a copy of the telegram which we ourselves have sent to Secretary of State Cordell Hull and to President Roosevelt. Similar messages from you within the next few days, worded in your own way, will help tremendously."

Just in case you haven't registered to vote in the forthcoming elections, our parting word is that you hasten to put your name on the books. In New York registration will close on October 14 and 15.

Who's Who

JOSHUA Kunitz was formerly Moscow correspondent for NM. He is the author of *Dawn Over Samarkand.* . . . Kenneth May is a teaching assistant in mathematics at the University of California. As an undergraduate his activities included the Student Judicial Council, the Open Forum Board, vice president of the YMCA, secretary of the Student Institute of Pacific Relations, and many others. Graduating with highest honors in mathematics, he was a member of Phi Beta Kappa, Sigma Xi, Pi Mu Epsilon (mathematics), and Golden Bear. He is joint author of *Stability of Limited Competition and Cooperation.* His father, Professor Samuel C. May, is head of the Bureau of Public Administration at the University of California, and vice chairman of the California State Defense Council. . . . Juan Sarabia is a newspaperman on one of Mexico's leading dailies. . . . Adam Lapin is NM's Washington correspondent. . . . Frank J. Wallace is an authority on economics. . . . Isidor Schneider was formerly literary editor of NM. . . . Millicent Lang is a graduate student specializing in contemporary literature.

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NEW MASSES

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A Letter from Ruth McKenney

DEAR READER: This magazine belongs to its readers as no magazine ever did. And I tell you now, with all the earnestness I have, that NEW MASSES is teetering today on the ragged edge of suppression —suppression by deficit. I don't know any eloquent or fancy way to put this. I must write it down as I feel it.

Eight pages of invaluable material were left out this week. We had to return to twenty-four pages. It was impossible to do otherwise. But the loss of eight pages, bad as it is, is not the worst of it. The cash to pay the paper concern is not at hand. The loans that pulled us through the summer have come due. We need only $6,000, but we must have it. A magazine like ours, forever skirting the danger mark, is now right on that line. If we don't get this amount, the whole tender balance may be destroyed. You helped this year with $20,000. We need $6,000 more to make both ends meet. We must make both ends meet.

This is your magazine. It belongs to you. And it's in danger of fading out of American life just as it reaches its greatest maturity. We who work on NEW MASSES love it. We live with it and dream about it. We can't imagine America without it. And we hope you won't be able to imagine it either. We ask you "Do you believe in peace?" and dear friends, the only way you can answer yes, and save us, is by sending us every quarter or dollar or five-dollar bill you can possibly spare.

Don't let the message for peace die because there isn't money enough for paper to print it on.

Ruth McKenney

(Please turn to page 21)

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A Vote-Ja Election?

Denial of ballot rights to minority parties threatens democracy. Roosevelt and Willkie follow the course of the betrayers of France. Fourth in a series of editorials on election issues.

DID somebody say "free elections"?

In Pennsylvania forty-three men and women are now on trial, charged with fraud and conspiracy, because they collected signatures to place the Communist Party on the ballot.

In Lewiston, Ill., two men and two women face ten years each in prison on charges of criminal syndicalism for collecting signatures on Communist nominating petitions.

In West Virginia Oscar Wheeler has been sentenced from six to fifteen years because he too exercised his constitutional right to solicit signatures to Communist petitions.

In twenty-seven states of the union election rights have been violated by the action of the authorities in ruling off the ballot minority parties—Communist, Socialist, Socialist Labor, and Prohibition, with the Communists the chief victims.

This is happening in America in 1940. This is happening in the land in which the leaders of the two major parties are exhorting the people to a holy crusade against fascism. It is happening under the Constitution whose fourteenth amendment declares: "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States. . . ."

Free elections? Was that Poe's raven croaking "Nevermore," or was it the Democublican bird of prey?

At the University of Pennsylvania the other day the President of the United States had something to say on this subject.

> As long as periodic free elections survive, no set of people can deny the right to vote to any other set. In the maintenance of free elections rests the complete and the enduring safety of our form of government.

Only a few days before at Coffeyville, Kan., Wendell Willkie said: ". . . the fundamental issue of this campaign is the preservation of democracy itself."

The Democratic and Republican presidential candidates are right. But by their own words they and their parties stand convicted. The assault on the ballot rights of minority parties is a product of the war hysteria fomented by the leadership of both the Democratic and Republican parties, particularly their standard bearers. And Republican and Democratic state officials are today impartially engaged in sapping the foundations of democracy. Free elections are a mockery, when in twenty-seven states of the union the right to vote is reduced to the privilege of voting "Ja" for either of the two pro-war candidates.

Just consider what is happening in this America of ours. We are being told that the country must prepare to defend itself against fascism. In the name of anti-fascist defense these things are being done: the presidential candidate of an anti-fascist, anti-war party, Earl Browder, is sentenced to four years in jail and a $2,000 fine for a minor technical violation of the passport laws (only the other day two British subjects, Harry and William Revel, were convicted under the same statute for admitted falsification of birth certificates and other frauds and were fined $500 each, with no prison sentence); this same presidential candidate is, at the request of the Roosevelt administration, denied the right to leave New York City to campaign in his own behalf; Congress passes the Voorhis registration bill, which is intended to provide a blacklist of Communists in industry, but can be used against other groups that cooperate with organizations abroad, as do many labor unions; the House of Representatives passes a resolution urging the states to rule off the ballot any organization which allegedly seeks to overthrow the government; a purge of Communists on WPA rolls is organized on so broad a basis that even signers of Communist nominating petitions, though they may be Democrats or Republicans, are included; scores of AFL and CIO trade unions and their officials are prosecuted under the anti-trust laws; Governor Lehman of New York invokes a World War statute to launch a witch-hunt directed at "subversive activities"; in Oklahoma eight men and women are placed on trial for criminal syndicalism after a series of illegal raids on their homes and the violation of their most elementary rights; in Detroit the FBI seizes sixteen citizens on charges of recruiting for loyalist Spain; in Philadelphia and other cities the Dies committee conducts illegal raids on Communist headquarters; members of the pacifist religious sect, Jehovah's Witnesses, are beaten up and thrown into jail; 3,500,000 aliens are registered and set apart as a suspect caste.

And in the name of anti-fascist defense these things too are being done: Father Coughlin, Gen. George Van Horn Moseley, and other fuehrers, and organizations like the Ku Klux Klan are given a free hand to carry on their fascist, anti-Semitic activities; the Ford Motor Co., headed by the Nazi sympathizer and Jew-baiter, Henry Ford, is given government contracts; nine members of the fascist Christian Front who plotted violence are acquitted, and the federal government for the third time postpones the retrial of five others until after the elections; the Department of Justice fails to take any action against John Hoza, agent of the Nazi-dominated Bata shoe interests, who has sworn falsely at least fourteen times in regard to his citizenship; an agent of Mayor "I Am the Law" Hague, Roosevelt supporter, reveals that the 1937 Jersey City poll books were burned to hide election frauds; the administration prevents Senate action on the anti-lynching bill which has passed the House.

Does this sound painfully familiar? Does it read like something that has all happened before? Does it make you ask: is this America, October 1940, or is it France, September 1939-June 1940?

The truth must be faced. The Roosevelt administration is not fighting fascism. It is fighting anti-fascism. With the support of the Republicans, it has adopted the policies and tactics of the men who betrayed France to Hitler. These are times that put the democratic professions of all men to the test. There are liberals who have had the courage to speak out. There is, for example, the Committee on Election Rights—1940, headed by Dashiell Hammett, which has been set up by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. Recently this committee made public an open letter from eighty-three prominent churchmen, educators, and other public figures to Attorney General Robert H. Jackson, urging him to take action to prevent minority parties from being deprived of their ballot rights.

But there are other liberals, so-called, who prefer to keep silent—and in this case silence gives consent—or even to lend direct aid to the anti-democratic forces. Those two traditional organs of American liberalism, the *Nation* and *New Republic,* have an inglorious record in this respect. The *Nation* has failed to publish a single editorial or article protesting the assault on the ballot rights of minority parties. Having accepted the major premise of supporting a reactionary war and America's participation in it, this magazine now seems ready to subscribe to the full anti-democratic syllogism. In a letter mailed to its readers, the *Nation* urges the government "to deal swiftly and vigorously with all fifth-column elements, of the left or right." This is the Daladier-Blum policy which led France to disaster. Its results for our own country can be no less disastrous.

The crisis we are living through is a challenge to all who sincerely wish to defend American democracy against the fascist threat within and without. "Every nation that has lost its liberties," Earl Browder recently pointed out, "started on the downward path with the act of suppressing the Communists." For non-Communists, therefore, whatever views they may hold on other issues, the defense of the civil rights of Communists is an act of elementary self-preservation. And in this period it is the acid test of liberalism. Those who keep silent today are already the slaves of fascism.

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The Theft of the Ballot

A good cross-section of the status of American civil liberties is provided by this resume of what is happening in the various states with respect to the efforts of the Communist Party to place its candidates on the ballot. The record up to October 8 shows that the party is already on the ballot in nineteen states. It has filed in five more in which the authorities have as yet made no final decision, and will file in an additional two. It has been ruled off the ballot in twelve states, in eight of which it is seeking reinstatement through court action. In ten states it made no effort for various reasons to be placed on the ballot. Despite the drive against minority parties, officials of the Communist Party believe it will be on the ballot in about thirty states.

ALABAMA: Filed nominations. On ballot.

ARIZONA: Filed 436 signatures from five counties. Ruled off ballot on ground that candidates could not swear to uphold Constitution, if elected, because they are sworn to overthrow it. Federal court refused jurisdiction in case. State court dismissed suit without passing on the issues. New court action instituted.

ARKANSAS: Filed nominations by convention. Ruled off ballot on ground that the Communist Party advocates overthrow of government by force and violence. Trial on mandamus suit set for October 11. J. B. Matthews appearing as witness for state.

CALIFORNIA: Filed nominations by convention. Temporary injunction restraining printing names on ballot granted, but later thrown out of court. On ballot.

CONNECTICUT: Filed 7,500 signatures September 24. Needed 6,500. On ballot.

COLORADO: Filed five hundred required signatures.

DELAWARE: No effort made to get on ballot. Law requires 750 signers to state they are members of party.

FLORIDA: Only a party having enrolled as members thereof 5 percent of all registered voters of state can be on ballot.

GEORGIA: State convention had to file nominations by October 6. Convention must be held in a county courthouse. Use of courthouse in Atlanta denied to CP. Attorney General has ruled CP cannot be on ballot. Party nevertheless held convention in private home and is fighting for place on ballot.

IOWA: Filed nominations by convention. On ballot.

IDAHO: Filed nominations by convention. On ballot.

INDIANA: Filed eight thousand signatures. 7,798 required. Governor has announced conference of election commissioners to consider petitions of American Legion, rotary clubs, etc., to bar CP.

ILLINOIS: Filed 28,000 signatures September 17. Ruled off on ground that did not have at least 200 from each of fifty counties. Could not get signatures because of campaign of violence directed against canvassers since June.

KANSAS: Filed nominations by convention. Upon Secretary of State's refusal to accept collected signatures, filed petition with 3,200 signatures from thirty-two counties. Ruled off ballot. Mandamus action pending.

KENTUCKY: Filed 1,400 signatures June 24. Needed 1,000. Temporary injunction against party appearing on ballot dissolved September 27. Dies committee sent each signer a letter implying that he was under the scrutiny of a committee to investigate subversive activities. Authorities invalidated enough signatures to rule party off ballot.

LOUISIANA: No effort to get on ballot. Need 1,500 signatures of voters not registered in another party to affiliate with CP. 98 percent of all voters are registered with another party.

MAINE: CP on ballot. On ballot in state elections September 10.

MARYLAND: Filed 2,400 signatures in June. Secretary of State has not yet certified nominations. Governor has called on Secretary of State to withhold certification. Dies committee sent letter to each signer. Eleven canvassers indicted on charges of practicing fraud and misrepresentation in the collection of signatures.

MASSACHUSETTS: Ruled off ballot. *Legal action resulted in reinstatement on ballot.*

MISSOURI: Filed by convention. Ruled off ballot on charge that the party failed to comply with statutory requirements. All minority parties filed under same form. Secretary of State ruled that since objections were made only to CP filing, others have right to be on ballot. Seeking reinstatement by court action.

MISSISSIPPI: Must file by October 21. Fifty signatures required.

MINNESOTA: Filed more than required two thousand signatures. On ballot.

MICHIGAN: Filed nine thousand signatures in June. Two actions brought to bar CP from ballot on ground that it is a foreign party were dismissed. On ballot.

MONTANA: Filed by convention. On ballot.

NEVADA: No effort made to get on ballot. Law requires signatures of 5 percent of voters.

NEBRASKA: No effort made to get on ballot. Law requires 750 people at a convention to sign a register.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Filed 1,100 signatures. On ballot.

NEW JERSEY: Filed two thousand signatures in June. Dies committee sent letters to all signers. On ballot.

NEW YORK: Had to file twelve thousand signatures with at least fifty from each county by October 8. Filed nearly 40,000.

NEW MEXICO: Filed nominations by convention. On ballot.

NORTH DAKOTA: Filed three hundred signatures. On ballot.

NORTH CAROLINA: No effort made. Ten thousand signatures required.

OHIO: Filed 34,000 signatures September 6. Needed 24,000. Ruled off ballot for insufficient signatures. No opportunity given to party for hearing. Supreme court of state refused to sign order to show cause in petition for writ of mandamus. Dies committee sent letter to each signer. Newspapers published names of signers. Seeking reinstatement through further court action.

OKLAHOMA: No effort made to get on ballot.

OREGON: Required 250 people at convention. Only one hundred appeared, due to threats of violence from Legion, etc. Ruled off ballot.

PENNSYLVANIA: Filed 26,000 signatures in April. Needed seventeen thousand. Dies committee sent letters to all signers. Newspapers published names of signers. Fifty canvassers indicted for fraud, etc. Eleven already convicted. Campaign by Annenberg papers for dismissal of teachers who signed petitions. On ballot.

RHODE ISLAND: Filed required five hundred signatures. On ballot.

SOUTH CAROLINA: No effort made to get on ballot.

SOUTH DAKOTA: No effort made to get on ballot.

TENNESSEE: Nominations of presidential electors must be filed by state committee by October 26. Nomination of candidate for US Senate already filed. Governor and Democratic "Boss" Crump called upon election board to bar CP from ballot. Board held hearing on matter. No decision yet.

TEXAS: Filed nominations by convention. On ballot.

UTAH: Ruled off ballot on ground of failure to comply with statutory requirements. New statutes enacted 1939. Attorney General's ruling appears to be a subterfuge. Seeking reinstatement through court action.

VERMONT: Filed twelve hundred signatures. Needed 1,127.

VIRGINIA: Filed by convention September 26. On ballot.

WASHINGTON: Barred from ballot on ground CP advocated violent overthrow of government. Seeking reinstatement through court action.

WISCONSIN: Filed seventeen hundred signatures. One thousand required. On ballot.

WEST VIRGINIA: Filed 8,684 signatures May 13. Newspapers attacked Party. Dies Committee sent letters to all signers. American Legion printed pamphlet with names of all signers listed by county of residence. 150 signers indicted for voting in primary after signing. Ten indicted for fraud in collection of signatures. Oscar Wheeler, CP candidate for governor, sentenced to from six to fifteen years for alleged fraud in collection of signatures. On action of Legion, injunction granted barring party from ballot on ground of insufficient signatures. One thousand signatures removed after intimidated signers said they did not know what they were signing.

WYOMING: No effort made to get on ballot.

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Mr. Gedye's Retreat from Moscow

Joshua Kunitz's analysis of Mr. Gedye's correspondence. The truths nobody can deny. First of a series on the Soviet Union.

MR. G. E. R. Gedye, who served as the New York *Times* correspondent in the Soviet Union for about a year, recently left that country in a state of extreme irritation. What got under his skin more than anything else, it seems, was the Soviet censor, whose "obtuseness," "ignorance," and "linguistic helplessness" Mr. Gedye describes in indignant and meticulous detail—consuming almost one-third of the space in his series of nine articles just published.

I will discuss the relations between correspondents in the USSR and the Soviet censor in a subsequent article. Here I merely want to record the fact that Mr. Gedye left the Soviet Union in disgust. The censor was the main, but not the only cause. Numerous other annoyances haunted Mr. Gedye to the very last minute of his stay in that unhappy land. Red tape in getting his passport. Red tape in getting out his baggage. Red tape in getting out his car. Red tape in getting out his dog. Everybody in every Commissariat in Moscow seemed to have conspired to make Mr. Gedye's last days in the Red capital an excruciating experience.

Then there was "the stifling forty-hour journey to Odessa in a fly-infested sleeper with double windows screwed up to prevent any one from opening them and thus letting in the constant stream of soot and cinders from the engine together with a breath of air."

And finally, the last ironic touch—Mr. Gedye's dip in the warm waters of the Black Sea from which he emerged "unexpectedly spotted, like a leopard, with oil."

Yes, the southern sun, the wind-swept Ukrainian steppe, and the warm Black Sea all worked in collusion with the censor, the customs officials, and the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs to make Mr. Gedye miserable.

And as Mr. Gedye boarded the Soviet "wonder ship" *Svanetia* on his way to Varna, he was in no mood to enjoy the luxurious liner with its "lovely lines," "magnificent staterooms," its "up-to-date discreet indirect lighting," and "three dance floors." Indeed, the very fact that the boat was so "spick and span" was proof positive that it was not meant for comfortable and relaxed travel, but as an exasperatingly "impressive piece of Soviet propaganda."

MOSCOW ASSIGNMENT

Gedye recalled how a year before, eagerly expectant, he was speeding northward—"one who realized an ambition cherished for years on receiving the Moscow assignment from the New York *Times*." Moscow! The city that served so many intellectual nonentities as a stepping stone to prominence—"commentators," "interpreters," "expounders" of the "Bolshevik experiment." People who could not understand, let alone explain, anything occurring in their own countries would take brief trips to the Soviet Union and write and find markets for their profound insights into the greatest and most sweeping revolution in history. He, Gedye, would of course be different. Those were the days when the Soviet Union was still patiently trying to arouse the English and French to some positive action; and Gedye, who knew and detested the Nazis, was sympathetic toward the Soviet's advocacy of resistance to the aggressors. Besides, there was the fact of his expulsion by the Nazis from Austria—surely, that would make him especially persona grata in Moscow. As a craftsman, as a journalist, as an author of a recently published best seller, he saw in the USSR a promising field for his activity, a place where he might justifiably hope to enhance his reputation and further his career.

Then everything went flooey. Collective security collapsed. The Soviet signed a pact with Germany. The war with Finland broke out. To curb the torrent of lies a censorship was established. No more "free" literary exercises. No more guesses. Yes, and no more tendential selection of facts from the Soviet press to please the bitterly anti-Soviet owners of the *Times*.

And now that he was coming back to the capitalist world, that world of freedom, peace, prosperity, and joy, he must hasten to gather the broken threads of his reputation and explain to disappointed admirers the reasons for his mission's failure. But Mr. Gedye is a man with a liberal habit of mind. In his very first article he shows evidences of misgivings as to his objectivity when he vehemently assures his readers "that it is in no spirit of resentment, far less of ill will, toward the Soviet Union that these and other more important facts about that country will be recorded." The mere fact that Mr. Gedye felt the need for such qualification is revealing. The point is that he was suffering from a dualism in his attitude toward the Soviet Union which he could not overcome, a dualism generated in the gulf between his subjective resentments and the objective truth.

It is this dualism that underlies the peculiar technique characteristic of his entire series of articles—that of granting something with one hand (conscience!) and almost invariably taking it away with the other (resentment!). But even in the hands of a master, this balancing technique is not quite impeccable. Despite Mr. Gedye's vigilance, some exceedingly important and unqualified admissions favorable to the Soviet Union do slip through, carefully tucked away though they are in a thick blanket of irrelevancies. Similarly, many harshly unfavorable things appear without anything favorable to counterbalance them.

Accordingly, in my analysis of Mr. Gedye's series I classified all of his observations and comments under three distinct heads: 1. Unqualifiedly Favorable; 2. Unqualifiedly Unfavorable; 3. Balanced. As I studied these categories before me I was struck by something that may surprise Mr. Gedye himself when he learns of it. I discovered that whereas in the matter of space the first of the above categories is incomparably less imposing than the other two, from the point of view of fundamental importance the few short items in that category are absolutely overwhelming, eclipsing everything else contained in the series.

Take this one:

> I have convinced myself of the existence of what is perhaps the best thing that the Russian Revolution has created—a spirit of real, classless comradeship—comrades in adversity, if you will—which takes account of neither age, sex, or income.

Ponder the full meaning of this casual remark made not by a Communist, not by a sympathizer (sympathizers have been asserting it all along), but by one who set out to write a blistering expose of the land of socialism.

If it is actually true, "adversity" or no "adversity," that a spirit of real, classless comradeship which takes account of neither age, sex, nor income has come to dominate the social relations of 200,000,000 people, of scores of nationalities, spread over one-sixth of the land surface of the globe, then the Soviet Union has realized in a brief twenty-three years what mankind's noblest spirits, thinkers, and religious leaders had been futilely yearning and striving for for thousands of years.

If this is true, if a real spirit of classless comradeship prevails among old and young, men and women, then this is an achievement of such universal magnitude, that all of Mr. Gedye's sorrowful tales about the shortage of dog biscuits and the high price of cheese are reduced to the lowest plane of pettiness and Philistinism. Who cares? With such a spirit in the land, man can face anything, man can achieve everything.

Take another observation, complementing the first:

> The complete absence of embarrassment—if you prefer it—of respectful awe—in children addressing adult strangers with whom they obviously feel perfect equality is another good thing I have never seen outside the Soviet Union.

Does Mr. Gedye realize what he is saying? If it is true that the Soviet child is endowed with the spirit of confidence, self-reliance, independence, and trust to such a degree as to render him unique among the children of the

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world (and Mr. Gedye, we take it, has traveled much and seen much), then we must conclude that there is something in the atmosphere of the Soviet home, and the Soviet school, and Soviet society as a whole that is particularly conducive to the development of such a spirit. You cannot tear this phenomenon from its social context and pass it off casually in three obscure lines. The social implications of this indubitable fact are tremendous. Professor Dewey has written volumes, and other educationists have written many, many more volumes—this has been going on for decades—in the pursuit of an educational formula that would bring precisely such results as have apparently been obtained under socialism. Why has Professor Dewey failed? Why have all the educationists in the capitalist countries failed? Why have the Soviet educationists succeeded? These are weighty questions. Yet the answer to all these weighty questions is a simple one: a free, independent, self-reliant child can develop only in a milieu in which the general spirit is that of freedom, self-reliance, and independence. You can not have one without the other; the presence of one presupposes the presence of the other.

These Soviet children, and every passing year millions of them reach adulthood, give the lie to all those detractors (including Mr. Gedye himself) who bandy about such words as authoritarianism, totalitarianism, dictatorship, serfdom, etc.

The presence of such children is the best proof and guarantee of Soviet democracy, the most advanced democracy in the modern world.

Finally, take that part in Mr. Gedye's last article where he considers the hypothetical case of what would happen if the Red Army ever marched into Bulgaria:

> There would be none of the "racial" lunacy that follows in the wake of Hitler's armies. . . . There would be no persecution of the Jews, who after a time would amazedly begin to realize for the first time in centuries that in *every* respect they were equal with other Soviet citizens, with completely equal opportunities and freed from the effects of every social prejudice. . . . Jews play a full, but not disproportionate part in the life of Soviet Russia . . . and in the absence of the old official Czarist incitements to pogroms, the non-Jews appeared unconscious of any difference between the Jewish and all the other peoples of the Soviet Union.

Yes, none of the "racial" lunacy, or "national" lunacy, or "tribal" lunacy that has ravaged humanity from the earliest dawn of its history to the present time. In one sixth of the globe, embracing nearly 200,000,000 people, the sublime principle of fraternity, of *absolute* equality—social, economic, cultural, political, and every other kind—of all peoples and races and nationalities, be they black or white or red or yellow, has been firmly and irretrievably established.

"This lesson of 'fraternity' at least has sunk in very deep," concludes Mr. Gedye in this section of his series. In other words, in the historically infinitesimal space of twenty-three years the Soviet Union has managed to eradicate one of the gruesomest blights in man's history, the cause of countless wars and strife and misunderstandings, of millions upon millions of violent deaths through the ages, the cause of the deepest tragedies in the lives of hundreds of millions throughout the contemporary capitalist-imperialist world.

If the Soviet Revolution had accomplished nothing else but this one thing, its right to eternal glory is assured. And those who have had the vision of a united humanity and have succeeded in making that vision a throbbing, luminous, palpable reality are assured of the gratitude and reverence of endless generations to come.

JOSHUA KUNITZ.

A. Jamison

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Lewis Mumford's "Mein Kampf"

Samuel Sillen says his book, "Faith for Living," is a "faith for dying." The "liberal" case for fascism. "The rich will remain custodians of their wealth—the poor, of their poverty."

LEWIS MUMFORD'S *Faith for Living* is the most flagrant statement of the "liberal" case for fascism which the war crisis has so far produced. Mr. Mumford's impassioned contribution to hysteria is a more elaborate expression of the same principle which Nicholas Murray Butler announced to the Columbia faculty last week. In essence, this principle calls for the defeat of democracy at home as a prerequisite for the defeat of fascism abroad. To save American freedom from the Nazi threat, we are to Nazify America; to conserve peace, we are to make war; to defend our living standards, we are to cripple the labor movement. Greeted with enthusiasm by a number of other ex-liberals, like Waldo Frank and Paul de Kruif, *Faith for Living* epitomizes the appalling philosophy of surrender to reaction which one section of American intellectuals is busily constructing. It brings into sharp relief the repudiation of liberal values by Freda Kirchwey's jingoistic *Nation* and Bruce Bliven's tremulously repentant *New Republic.*

This plea for repression has already been adopted as an inspirational war manual, a sort of cultured *Mein Kampf,* by the New York *Times,* which has been quick to reward the ex-liberals for whom Mr. Mumford speaks. "It is a noble and heartening piece of work," writes J. Donald Adams, editor of the *Sunday Times* book section, "and I should like particularly to think of it being read this Fall and Winter in every college room in America." This totalitarian wish would be father to the totalitarian deed if the spirit and program of *Faith for Living* should ever prevail in our land. It would indeed be read in every classroom—by ministerial decree of some native Goebbels.

Ex-liberal Maury Maverick, who brags that "I'm a swell demagogue," might be just the man for the assignment. Mr. Mumford is more refined than the Mayor of San Antonio, and he has more complex ways of saying that he is "sick" of being "so damned liberal." But he merely preaches what Maverick practices. The philosopher says that "the majority must not scruple to use any necessary amount of coercion upon minority groups who might, if the danger were less, be converted by the slow process of reason, or blandly ignored"; and he assumes that those who support his attack on the peace and well-being of the masses are a majority, rather than a tiny minority. The Texas politician, equally impatient with a lumbering and antiquated reasoning process, has set up "a municipal home guard," five hundred strong, has refused meeting halls to people with whom he disagrees, and has, he tells the press, "adopted the communications method of the German army—we can reach any point in town within one minute." Dismayed by peace sentiment among many church groups, Mr. Mumford attacks the "social irresponsibility of the Christian Churches." And Mr. Maverick echoes: "We've got to keep the Bible handy. But we need a gun too." We need guns, and we must use them, the sooner the better: that is the faith which Mr. Mumford offers to his "soft" fellow-Americans.

FAITH FOR DYING

It is a faith for dying, not a faith for living. Death comes to all, Mr. Mumford assures us, "but death comes best to those who are ready to die, so that Man may live." With blasphemous irresponsibility, he calls us to the banners of the money-changers with the words of Jesus. He fortifies us with inspiring sentences from the Bhagavad-Gita and the New Testament: "Counting gain or loss as one, prepare for battle!" "He that loseth his life shall find it." He seeks to intoxicate us with a death-wish for imperialist war even at the moment that he declares, with engaging candor: "The war will not be utopian; far from it; nor will that which survives it, if anything survives, be an easy way of living." Brazenly, he insists that in 1917 only our "slogans" were wrong; our "actions" were right. And he promises that as a reward for similar actions in 1940, as a reward for killing and being killed without the benefit of slogans, we shall enjoy that blissful sense of comradeship which is awakened in a shipwreck on the high seas. We shall have faith to go down with a song of praise on our lips.

The purpose of this rhetoric is to prepare us for the joyful acceptance of sacrifice. We are too crude: we demand bread. Mr. Mumford offers us more spiritual satisfactions. Spoiled by our present "economy of comfort," we are to be regenerated by transferring our loyalty to an "economy of sacrifice." Since only 45,000,000 Americans are living below the "safety line" of nourishment (according to the recent estimate of Miss Harriet Elliott, Consumer Commissioner of the Defense Board), since only ten million people are unemployed, it is quite clear that we have been languishing in "material abundance." This is demoralizing; a change is necessary: "Our new economy must assume that hardship, difficulty, and poverty are normal aspects of life; that everything above that level, for our generation, is a piece of unqualified good luck, to be valued for what it is, a rare and exceptional thing, not to be demanded as a right." Under the new economy in which we are to have faith, "Poverty, hardships, wounds, and death will be our daily pay."

With touching sadness, Mr. Mumford notes that "Most Americans, even the working class, are starkly unprepared for this change. That is why they cling so fatuously to the notion of peace. . . ." *Even* the working class! Fatuous ingrates, do you not understand that "This change will bear lightest on the poor and the insecure, the unemployed and the unskilled," since you haven't known much better anyway? Mr. Mumford has been peeking into the lives of the poor, and he has recently made a shocking discovery. In a study of a family on relief he came across some "pathetic starvelings" who asked: "Haven't I got a right to a car? Haven't I got a right to a new suite of furniture?" Social climbers, proletarian pushers, what sort of nonsense is this? Listen to Mr. Mumford: "And the only answer now, to rich and poor, must be a firm one. The only right anyone has as an American is an equal share in the good life. Not a life of material abundance; but a life of comradeship, art, and love." Of course, the rich will have to chip in too, but we must not push matters too far. We must permit them to retain their possessions, even if only "in a relation of bare custodianship." The rich will remain custodians of their wealth; and the poor will remain custodians of their poverty. In a period of such danger, what patriot could challenge the equity of this arrangement?

AREAS OF FAITH

Before the reader turns to *Mein Kampf* for parallel passages, he should go on patiently with Mr. Mumford's story. The renewal of faith, he tells us, must take place in three particular areas: the family, the land, and the self. The trouble with the American family is that "From the standpoint of current fashion, it is more important . . . to spend eight hours hammering at a typewriter or sewing in a dressmaking factory, or even to stand all day at a counter in a drygoods store than to make a bed properly, diaper a baby neatly, or grow a beautiful stalk of snapdragons." This is a wicked "fashion," and Mr. Mumford is very stern with the dressmakers and typists who "have not husbanded their energies for nurture and for passionate play." Nobody in the neighborhood of Mr. Mumford's farm has so little sense as that. "Be fruitful, not prudent: increase and multiply your children, not the ciphers in your bank account." Those, says Mr. Mumford with admirable modesty, are the sane words of our time. He is annoyed with people who wait until they can afford a crib and carriage; he dares them to have a child even though they must use a basket. And, presumably, even though they must use the water from the faucet for orange juice and cod liver oil; or a parking lot for a maternity ward.

We shall have compensations for our sacrifice: "a new joy in fecundity," "the development of the erotic ritual," "an opportunity to enjoy the wealth of the poor: children." And,

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supreme consolation, we shall begin to keep daily family histories, souvenirs, and anecdotes, for some of our young people will die before their time, and we must establish family continuity! Indeed, bad times are good for family life. During the depression, Mr. Mumford discovered that "Unemployment in many households meant that children had the privilege of playing with their father at other times than the frayed end of the day."

And we must return to the soil; we have been devitalized by our urban existence. The surest basis for patriotism is the region, because in its "best sense, patriotism is always narrow and intense. . . ." The increasing narrowness of Mr. Mumford's patriotism since he left the tenements for the terraced gardens is perhaps a sufficient proof of his thesis. But there is one ray of hope: men are beginning "to settle down and take root"—as the epic of the Joad family no doubt demonstrated to Mr. Mumford's satisfaction.

As for the third main area of renewal, "the self," it is time to recognize that the human personality is tempered through hard, "perhaps fatal," compulsions. It therefore follows that our youth, suffering from lethargy and cynicism, should be "toughened off" in "labor camps." For young people nearing military age, Mr. Mumford offers an attractive future: "The hardships they will encounter in the service, the lack of domestic comforts, the lean days of backbreaking, sometimes ugly work, the individual's occasional loneliness far from his own roof—all this will breed a toughness that no other mode of education, short of war, can produce, except under conditions that permanently stultify the spirit."

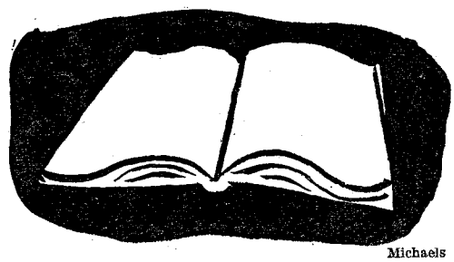
DEFENSE AGAINST FASCISM

If one objects that these camps may also stultify the spirit, one will doubtless be made to understand that "minor curtailments of private liberties" are necessary for defense against fascism. Mr. Mumford anticipates that a people devoted to democratic ideals will be reluctant to accept his fascist proposals in the interests of a war against fascism. He is so furious with the American people for resisting such demagogy that he slanders our population indiscriminately. Every big city, he says, counts "by the million" people who have "a common contempt for life on any other level than that of animal satisfaction, animal vitality." The powerful peace sentiment of the masses is interpreted as a "passive barbarian's whine" that freedom and democracy are just words and that we might as well be ruled by Hitler as by anybody else! This palpable distortion and slander is coupled with an attack on genuine anti-fascists reminiscent of Hitler's attack, in *Mein Kampf,* on the "Marxist liars" whose only task is "to break the people's folkish and national spine."

Yet it is not a passive barbarian but the very active Mr. Mumford who says of capitalism: "Balzac pictured the rapacious impulses behind capitalism a century ago in all their wolflike nakedness; and the final results of its ethic and its vision of life are now manifesting themselves in the worldwide betrayal of modern civilization by those who put economic gain before the safety and liberty of their fellow-countrymen." But having made this startling admission, he hastens to add: "Do not misunderstand my meaning: this is only one side of the ledger, the debit side." There is also a credit side which by some wizardry balances this heavily burdened ledger. And we are promised that "If we save our civilization from the barbarian, we shall also save all that is valuable in capitalism, including the original sense of initiative and experiment it introduced into the world." If we go into a war which is the expression of the "rapacious impulses" of capitalism, we shall somehow salvage all the "good" impulses of capitalism. Mr. Mumford fails to inform us how this miracle will be effected. If we are to retain the profit system, how are we to eliminate the evils which Balzac described a century ago and which the author of *Faith for Living* so graciously acknowledges today?

CONTRADICTORY PHENOMENA

The answer brings us to the underlying assumption of Mr. Mumford's new book and its predecessor, *Men Must Act.* This is the assumption that capitalism and fascism are completely different and even contradictory phenomena. As I have emphasized in a previous article, this is the basic theoretical justification advanced by the liberal proponents of a fascist war against fascism. By denying or minimizing the identity of class structure in all capitalist societies, by ignoring the truth that fascism is the open and acute expression of an essential tendency of monopoly capitalism, they seek to create the impression that *two systems* are in conflict. And to compound the outrage, they imitate Hitler's latest lying tactic and pretend that socialism and fascism are bond-brothers. By stupidly classifying the Soviet Union as a "fascist" state, Mr. Mumford attempts to dispose of the only economic and social system—socialism—which represents an alternative to both combatants waging war for mastery of the imperialist system. Mr. Mumford says that social injustices under American capitalism are "accidental"; whereas the evils of fascism are "essential." In *Men Must Act,* he inveighs against those who "confuse" fascism with imperialism; and he insists that though imperialism was bad "the governments that promoted it were subject to the play of the humaner forces in civilization" and that by the end of the nineteenth century imperialism had become "apologetic, shamefaced, abashed." Many of us will be surprised to learn that "For the last generation there was,



Michaels

in international affairs, a steady gain for moral decency." Fascism, an upstart outsider, has interrupted this imperialist march of progress, and it must be defeated by more seasoned rivals so that the march may continue.

There is a measure of specious plausibility in this type of analysis, and that is what gives it the demagogic value which it undoubtedly has. What is the validity of this theory of the lesser evil? Mr. Mumford proposes to defend the lesser evil by adopting measures that would transform it into the greater evil. The war has already hastened this transformation of the capitalist democracies, particularly in the belligerent powers, as the example of France so vividly demonstrated. No Marxist will deny that the non-fascist form of capitalism is preferable to its fascist form, even though the essential content of both is identical. Capitalist democracy affords larger opportunities to the majority of the people to increase democratic gains by struggling against the inherent threat of capitalism to democracy. But this must be a simultaneous process. Democracy can be furthered only by constant curtailment of monopoly, never by support of it. Only two alternatives are open to us: either the widening of democracy ultimately leading to the socialization of economy in the interests of the majority, or the contraction of democracy to the vanishing point by the fascization of economy in the interests of the few. It is clear that in a period of crisis like the present, we must make a fateful choice between these alternatives. The economic rulers of the nation have not hesitated to make their decision, and the drastic attacks on democracy which we are witnessing are its fruits. Like others of his colleagues, Mr. Mumford has made his decision too, and the quotations I have presented unmistakably show that this decision differs in no essential respects from that of the economic rulers. For in the name of fighting fascism, he has proposed to wipe out just those values and forces of our national life which have so far restrained the fascist potential of a collapsing profit system: the aspirations and struggles of our basic population for a life of plenty, for civil liberties, and for peace.

Mr. Mumford's program of repression and retrenchment *weakens* our resistance to fascism, both at home and abroad. Despite all pretenses, it is the program which betrayed France, where a minority posing as a majority crushed the labor movement, imprisoned genuine anti-fascists, demolished the working class press, illegalized democratic organization. Mr. Mumford's irresponsible attacks on the Soviet Union, like those of Daladier, Bonnet, and Blum, are calculated to deprive American democracy of its most powerful potential ally in the effort to keep war and fascism from our shores. We cannot fight fascism with fascism. The defense of America is jeopardized at the outset by those ex-liberals who are lending the glitter of rhetoric to Wall Street's crude purpose. SAMUEL SILLEN.

This is the second of a series on "Authors of Surrender." The third article will deal with "The Abuse of Reason."

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Strictly Personal by RUTH McKENNEY

The Invincibles

I HAD meant to do a little piece this week on President Roosevelt and his current crop of campaign recruits, and maybe I will, next time. Tonight my heart fails me. I get weary sometimes of writing about the contemptible little people, the cheap traitors, the bootlickers, the cowards, even the cold-blooded and calculated enemies.

So this is written for the Communists, the invincibles.

The Communists are a very remarkable breed of people. Today, as I write this, Communists in China are attacking a Japanese regiment, Communists in England are organizing a new wave of protests against the government air-raid shelter policy. And Communists in the United States are fighting on a hundred fronts against war and hunger and our own local brand of fascism.

Patiently the Communists all over the world, in Norway and Puerto Rico, India and Holland, are preparing for socialism, fighting doggedly against terrible odds, risking everything, even life, tasting the bitter salt of defeat again and again and always returning to the ruins of their hopes to start afresh, indomitable in the face of death itself.

What makes a Communist? Their enemies everywhere have never been able to answer this question. Vulgarians, like the newspaper editorial writers, argue that Communists are greedy spies, bought and bribed by gold from Moscow. But this absurd argument collapses of its own weight. There is not enough gold in the whole world, not even if the subterranean hoard at Fort Knox, Ky., were released for the purpose, to buy the selfless, patient services of the enormous international organization, the Communists of the world. Besides, the men who advance, outnumbered ten to one, against the Japanese; the Spaniards and the Bulgarians and the Americans who risk death and torture, prison and starvation —these men are not for sale. Money cannot buy life.

On a slightly higher scale, theoreticians in Washington announce that Communists are produced by breadlines. Now it is true that Communists come out of hunger and oppression; yet suffering alone does not produce a Communist. If this were true, capitalism would long since have been destroyed by its victims.

Sidney Hillman and his assorted social democratic pals believe Communists are created by a cynical and heartless lust for personal power; but these are men seeing others only in their own image. Personal power would be a bitter mirage to the Communists in Oklahoma, facing endless prison terms on their parched and lonely plains; such power would be an ironical joke to the Communists in Alabama who walk softly in the night, lest their footsteps be traced and their life end with terrible suddenness in the bright flames of a lynching; such power would seem a remote dream to the German Communist who dodges the Gestapo as he walks the silent dark streets of Berlin with new leaflets. The world has no rewards to offer the soldiers of the Eighth Route Army in China, or the prisoners in the Swedish concentration camps. The Communists have never had an appetite for personal power — and Sidney Hillman, in the silent far reaches of the night, must know that it is so and tremble.

But the sophisticates, the philosophers of decadence, have another answer. Communists are religious fanatics, bone of the bone, bred in the image of the long-ago Christians who suffered death with hosannas of joy, who urged on the wild beasts to open the gates of paradise, who turned a cold face to life and lived only for the dream world of some mystic joy after death. Freud, these delicate writers in the *New Republic* and the *Atlantic Monthly* say, had a word for the Communists—they're neurotics, masochists, filled with the death-urge. Yet even this learned argument must collapse before the facts. Communists, as anybody who has ever met a dozen knows, are not ascetics. They cling to life passionately, spending themselves carefully, fighting every inch of the way against a martyrdom they do not seek. No Communist risks his life needlessly, and the Communist who walks off to face a firing squad in Bulgaria or Germany or France hopes to the last minute, the last command "Fire," that he will yet survive. For Communists love life, this life, their own life. I believe Communists live more passionately than any other people alive today—even President Roosevelt must sometimes feel the weary weight of futility, catch at least a glimpse of the hopeless, ugly cause he defends. But Communists are nourished on the future.

George Plekhanov wrote an essay called "The Role of the Individual in History." I'm not much of a theoretician, but this essay fascinates me, just because it answers the question: what makes a Communist? Social relationships, Plekhanov says, have their inherent logic: as long as people live in given mutual relationships they will feel and think and act in a given way, and no other. But these relationships change. If a man can discover in what manner the productive system is changing, he can find out in what direction social mentality is changing; consequently, he can influence it.

"In a certain sense, then," Plekhanov writes, "I can make history and there is no need for me to wait while it is being made."

And while changes in production may be slow, they periodically confront society with the necessity of more or less rapidly changing its institutions.

"This change never takes place by itself," Plekhanov adds. "It always needs the intervention of men. And it is these men who do more than others to facilitate the solution of these problems who are called 'great' men."

In these few laconic words Plekhanov solves the problem that will mystify capitalists until the very end, when they go down to defeat and oblivion. For Communists are men and women who are engaged in the great task of making history, the most fascinating, the most dignified, the noblest activity open to human beings. Communists today are in the great stream of humanity, brothers to the forgotten men who invented speech, comrades to the Greek architects who discovered form—they sail beside Columbus, and sit in Galileo's studio, they hold the basin for Harvey as he discovers the circulation of the blood, and march with the *sans culottes* to attack the Bastille.

For their enemies forget that the Communists are scientists, Marxists, students of society. They have discovered the direction in which production is changing, from the anarchy of capitalism to the logic of socialism. And so Communists can act upon their knowledge, midwives to the future. Communists can make history, and so transcend their own lives by knowing the only immortality open to human beings—putting a mark on tomorrow.

I have listened to the voices of the Thaelmann Battalion, recorded on those beautiful records, "The Six Songs for Democracy." The men I hear singing are dead.

Yet the voices I hear on those records are immortal, beyond even the wax and the victrola needle. The terrible struggle in Spain has only begun. These German Communists who came from afar to make history in a strange country, wrote a first chapter. I cannot hear their voices without tears, and yet even the bitter sorrow we feel for our brave dead must be tempered with a great pride. Death is common to all men. In modern times, only—and I mean the word only—the Communists can sell their lives for the future.

Plekhanov ends his great essay:

> And it is not only for *beginners,* not only for *great* men that a broad field of activity is open. It is open for all those who have eyes to see, ears to hear, and hearts to love their neighbors. The concept *great* is a relative concept. In the ethical sense every man is great who, to use the Biblical phrase, "lays down his life for his friend."

The Communists of today are the pure in heart. The invincibles.

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What's Happening in Mexico

The status of the Almazan movement today. Where does Camacho stand? Our State Department turns on the heat. What are the prospects? A dispatch from Mexico City.

Mexico City.

GEN. JUAN ALMAZAN'S absence from this country has provoked general discontent amongst his followers. His constant promises, made through foreign correspondents, that "he will be President of Mexico by December" and that the "situation is under control," have not nullified the natural resentment toward a candidate who left his followers and his party stranded.

Reports from the United States indicate that Almazan is "not to be found." He is allegedly somewhere between New York and Atlantic City. His brother, Dr. Leonides Almazan, declares that he has been unable to reach the general because he "ignored his telephone number." Many Almazanistas in this city admit that Almazan is "lost somewhere in the USA," and even the conservative magazine *Hoy* has stated that the Almazanista movement has been destroyed by Almazan himself. Public gossip even goes so far as to insinuate a "compromise agreement" between Almazan and Avila Camacho.

But the danger of an armed uprising, under the open or concealed Almazan leadership, is still imminent. The grave economic situation, and the government steps—true, hesitant and grudging—toward appeasement of big business and imperialism, have naturally added fuel to the flame of discontent. Sporadic uprisings have occurred in various places; the most important focus of disorder is in Chihuahua—northernmost state on the Texas border. (Eight thousand American troops have been added to the garrison at Fort Bliss.) Similar disorders have been witnessed in Queretaro, Durango, Tamaulipas, and Sinaloa. Bridges have been burned, and an attempt to take the National Palace by force occurred on September 15. When the official declaration on Avila Camacho's triumph was posted on all street corners in Mexico City, a group of women, wearing the green banners of the Almazanista Party, organized a demonstration that was easily dispersed by the police. When the leaders of the PRM (Party of the Mexican Revolution) marched down the street, an Almazanista, Salvador Enriquez Fuentes, drew a gun and tried to kill Gen. Heriberto Jara, President of the PRM. This murder was prevented by a student of a Peasant School, who disarmed the assailant.

These movements appear to be of a local nature, without any visible inter-connection. But the political and social consquences of such petty disorders are substantial, and the government has a tendency to minimize them. The local uprisings have undoubtedly been inspired by Almazan, even though they may not be led by him directly. They appear as "rehearsals," "tactical rebellions" to test the strength and unity of the government forces. They may also be the beginning of a continued guerrilla warfare that would keep the army busy, weakening it constantly, in preparation for a more serious *coup d'etat.*

GOVERNMENT CONCILIATION

The tendency of the government to minimize the importance of these disorders is very suspicious. All the official reports state that the situation is calm, but every day new lists of surrendered rebels appear in the newspapers. Giving the impression that the army is able to cope with the situation (which is, of course, still true), the government apparently wants to prevent the people from taking a hand in destroying the rebel forces. Perhaps official circles fear that the participation of the people, and particularly of the working class, in the maintenance of order would force the hesitant regime more to the left. This fear of the people is growing in all government circles. Significant enough is the fact that President Cardenas has gone to Chihuahua to handle the situation personally. He has promised freedom to those rebels who surrender—as he did during the Cedillo rebellion in March 1938, and has declared that "the government does not consider Almazan a rebel." Further official reports state that the local outbursts are not of an Almazanista nature and must not be considered as such.

Almazan, nevertheless, remains a grave danger to the Mexican Revolution. He is surely negotiating some sort of help in the US, help that would come from the expropriated oil companies and reactionary political circles. There is a certain optimism deliberately created by the government, and it is common talk in this capital that "due to the war situation . . . the United States wishes to maintain order in Latin America, particularly in Mexico. The State Department would not risk a rebellion, even to help a person so dear to them as Almazan." This is only partly true, for it is also true that the menace of a rebellion, a menace that is kindled by US imperialism, is a Damocles sword hanging over the Mexican government. Almazan is the bulldog that imperialism would set on Mexico in case Avila Camacho's regime should refuse to comply with the growing imperialist demands.

The alarming fact is that the government is openly conciliating the Almazanista sentiment. Three Almazanistas have entered the National Congress; Almazanista government officials are not molested. Thirty-five Almazanista army officers have pledged "loyalty" to the government. Even General Amaro and his "anti-Communist Party" have praised Avila Camacho. The Catholics, in the powerful *Accion Nacional,* have also shown signs of acceptance. This means that the reactionaries are entering the ranks of Avila Camacho, which is surely viewed with satisfaction in Washington. Almazan, therefore, is not the only menace facing the Mexican people. Within the ranks of the PRM, within the government, and within the labor movement itself, reaction is maneuvering.

No one can deny that the fundamental needs of the people are not being satisfied. To appease the old and new landlords, land reform has ceased; strikes are less frequent and labor has been asked to wait patiently until the economic crisis is over; education is losing its progressive trend. A few days ago the governors of several states asked for an amendment in the Labor Code that would practically make strikes illegal. Portes Gil, one of the sinister advisers to Camacho, and his group are dividing the progressive Teacher's Union and are launching an open campaign against Lombardo Toledano and the CTM. Several opportunist labor leaders are trying to form an "Industrial Federation" which would include the miners, railroad, petroleum, and textile workers. This maneuver, should it succeed, would make the CTM an organization of third-rate importance. The reasons for all this are many, and official justifications are more than abundant. At this moment the Mexican bourgeoisie is coming of age, it is aggressive, full of fears for the future, and, therefore, willing to seek allies and establish any sort of compromises. The agrarian reforms and the gains of the working class are becoming an uncomfortable burden for the emergent capitalists in Mexico. These are symptoms—mere symptoms now—of the reactionary offensive.

PROGRESSIVE SUPPORT

Almazan is the typical representative of the centuries-old reaction, the powerful landowners, and of local fascism. But Avila Camacho represents the growing Mexican bourgeoisie, enriched, in the main, since the Revolution (1910). His campaign and all his official declarations have carried an air of "moderation" and "peace." He would sponsor the strengthening of Mexican capitalism, would reduce popular demands, and would collaborate with imperialism. Fortunately, however, he did not win in the July elections by himself. Avila Camacho was supported by the progressive forces, by the workers united in the CTM, by the organized peasants, by the Communist Party. Despite his personal ideas, Avila Camacho was the candidate of the PRM and has promised to guide himself by the Six Year Plan of that Party. He is, then, the "centrist" force in the complex structure of the Mexican Revolution. His future development will depend on the comparative

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strength of the right and left-wing groups within the PRM and the Government.

Before the CTM offered its support, reaction looked hopefully at Avila Camacho. Now that the campaign is over and Avila Camacho declared President Elect, reaction feels its hopefulness was justified. This attitude is not without foundation. The magazine *Hoy* — anti-Cardenas and anti-labor — recently published an interview with the President Elect. This interview has been widely publicized and reactionaries are saying, "You see, Avila Camacho is O.K. He is moderate, he is one of us. . . ."

The essence of the interview is conciliation. It seems to be a call to "order," an appeal to the Almazanistas and to all the reactionaries of the country. "Why," asks the President Elect, "do they object to my government if they do not know yet what kind of a government it is going to be?" After declaring that he is a Catholic, Avila Camacho repeats his desire to build a strong national economy of "helping the poor people," of welcoming foreign investments, etc., all of which must sound well to Cordell Hull.

The interview was really a trap, and Avila Camacho fell into it. Carried away by his own language he said things that are highly questionable for a man that represents the semi-Popular Front called the PRM. Many of his words could be placed in the mouth of any South American dictator.

When asked if Lombardo Toledano would collaborate with his government, Camacho answered, "I think not," and then praised Toledano's honesty. What *Hoy* really wanted to know was whether Camacho was willing to accept the collaboration of the progressives. As for Toledano, nothing would be worse for him, a labor leader, than to become a Minister. This would be returning to the old days of Calles and Morones.

Hoy then asked Camacho if the Communists would form part of his government. With remarkable naivete he answered, "The Communists? No, they will not form part of my government. The Communists will dissolve themselves . . . because their ideas do not 'fit in' the Mexican scene. . . ." Avila Camacho took for granted that the Communists were seeking jobs in his government and he hastily refused the jobs in advance. His answer was undiplomatic, to say the least.

THE COMMUNIST ANSWER

Such declarations prompted an official statement by the Mexican Communist Party: "Communist ideas are not 'strange' to Mexico. These ideas are born in all the countries in which exploited workers and peasants, Indian masses, and oppressed peoples exist. . . . Our Party has an immediate program that coincides . . . with the program approved in the PRM convention that decided to support the candidacy of Gen. Manuel Avila Camacho. Our support to that candidacy was always premised upon his acceptance of and compliance with that program. We did not support Gen. Avila Camacho for personal reasons, but for reasons of program. If our cooperation is understood to mean occupying posts in his government, we state that we have never offered such a cooperation; but if cooperation means transforming the Second Six Year Plan into reality, then there will be cooperation. . . . We do not know what is meant by 'dissolving.' But we state that while the working class exists in Mexico, the Communist Party will exist and it will become stronger under the fire of reactionary attacks. The Communist Party exists out of a historic necessity and neither repression nor terror will be able to destroy an organization that struggles for the interests of the people. . . ."

In another part of the interview *Hoy* laid the second and third traps. "But you are a Socialist, General?" Answered Camacho: "No, I am not a Socialist. I am a democrat. . . ." And as if this were not enough, Camacho further stated that his government would welcome the resumption of diplomatic relations with fascist Spain.

GOVERNMENT JUSTIFICATION

Progressive circles receive these declarations with a certain degree of contempt. The reactionaries within the PRM are overflowing with joy. The government offers justifications: "The situation of the country is grave. Avila Camacho, with his moderate declarations, has taken Almazan's banner from him and destroyed the possibilities of rebellion." All the conservative papers began to praise Camacho and to attack President Cardenas openly. The opportunists in the National Congress and in government circles changed their attitude overnight and began to adopt anti-Communist slogans. The road had been paved for a great reactionary drive.

Some of Camacho's personal ideas are inspired by the projects of his cruel and fascist-minded brother, Gen. Maximino Camacho, and by the ideas of Portes Gil—the two "powers behind the throne." They do not mean that a total change has taken place, but a change is developing which may be full-blown by December 1. The hour is ripe for a counter-revolution, all the conservative elements are ready to strike a death-blow at the Mexican Revolution, but. . . .

If the reactionary forces have changed their strategy and are now trying to force Camacho to the right, it is necessary that similar steps by taken by the progressive groups to force him to the left. The hour is ripe for a counter-revolution. True enough, but the hour is also ripe for a great left-wing mobilization. If the unity of the people is not broken, but rather strengthened around a program of real popular demands, the Mexican Revolution can still continue forward. JUAN SARABIA.

Mandell

"I'll be glad when this war is over, so I can be a liberal again."

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Why My Father Disowned Me

Kenneth May, the brilliant young teaching assistant at the University of California, tells how he came to Communism. Berkeley in the fight for civil liberties.

"IF YOU dare to open your mouth, *I'll*—." It was September 26. I had just arrived at the Wednesday night meeting of the Berkeley School Board. A legionnaire was droning a long accusation at the members. For over a year four out of five of the board members had committed the offense of refusing to yield to the intimidation of the American Legion, the Berkeley Nationals, and other local 100 percenters. Pressure had failed to modify their position that all political parties should be granted the use of the schools. Now they had before them a request from the University of California Young Communist League for the use of a bungalow in which to hold a meeting for Anita Whitney, Communist candidate for the United States Senate. A few days before, the state legislature had passed a bill barring the Communists from primary elections. Although Governor Olson had not signed the bill, the patrioteers, like storm troopers before a pogrom, were eager to get started with suppression. It was at this meeting that I represented the Communist Party, answering some of the false charges that had been made against us and urging a continuation of Berkeley's long tradition of free speech.

The next day the newspapers featured a statement by my father "disowning and disinheriting" me. President Sproul of the University of California ordered an investigation of my activities. The furor took me by surprise. For months I had been doing political work which brought me in contact with the public. Several letters had appeared in the California student paper signed by me on behalf of the Communists.

Appearing before the school board as spokesman of a perfectly legal and open political party which received 150,000 votes in California in 1938 seemed a natural thing to do.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN FORCES

Berkeley reflects the struggle between the healthy forces of American democracy and those which are undermining it in the name of patriotism. A small group of jingoes, supported by the local newspapers, have been carrying on a vigorous "anti-Communist" campaign. These same elements, who shout accusations of force and violence at the Communists, were responsible for numerous acts of violence during the 1934 waterfront strike, the best known of which was the destruction of the Finnish Hall in Berkeley. Berkeley is represented at the state capital by two reactionaries who have won both Democratic and Republican nominations and are opposed only by the Communist candidates in November. These gentlemen are leaders of the move to "kick the Communists (i.e. their opponents) off the ballot." But Berkeley, like the rest of America, is not as hysterical as these antics suggest. Berkeleyans voted progressive in 1936, and about 10 percent have voted the Communist ticket in past elections. Hundreds of letters have come in supporting the Berkeley School Board's stand, while the petition circulated by the reactionaries got a number of signatures smaller than the Communist vote in Berkeley. Reflecting the wishes of the progressive and democratically minded majority of Berkeley, the four progressive members of the board left unseconded the lone reactionary's motion to deny the use of the schools to Communists. They granted the request of the Young Communist League. That they did this in the face of strong pressure and intimidation should encourage everyone who is fighting for democracy right here at home.

DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION

My activity in the Communist Party is the result of years of study and experience. I first joined its ranks in 1936 as an undergraduate when I found by actual experience that the Communists fought consistently and well for the things in which I believed. From my freshman year I had been an observer or participant in practically every student organization. At that time the Communists were weak on the campus, but they were so admirable in their clarity of purpose and self-possession that I was drawn toward them. Those were the days of the big peace strikes and free speech fights. These battles always took the same form: the students wanted an effective demonstration with speakers and program of their own choice. The administration used every method—packed committees, stooges, delays, splitting tactics, compromises, personal appeals, threats, covertly organized violence, etc.—to make the meeting as ineffective as possible, to prevent the appearance of any militant speakers, to eliminate strong resolutions expressing student demands. In a number of these fights I participated as an impartial student mediator between the administration and the "Reds." For a long time I had believed and even repeated the slanders about the "underhand methods" of the Communists, but my experiences during this period dispelled this prejudice. I began to read Communist literature and started what later became a thorough study of Marxism. When another student asked me to join the Communist Party, I was ready.

I joined the Communist Party because it had proved to me in action that it was a serious, well-organized group working for the welfare of society—against racial discrimination, for free speech on the campus, against strike-breaking by students, and for better student housing and working conditions. Inside the party I gained a better understanding of its work. My political activities became better organized. Far from interfering with my studies, association with other young Marxists in different fields was stimulating. I found myself part of an organization more democratic than any I had yet seen. Criticism and complete discussion were a necessary part of every decision, and the party discipline and *esprit de corps* were based on thorough conviction.

VISITED SOVIET UNION

In 1937 I received a fellowship to study planning—particularly Soviet planning. Although war conditions prevented more than a beginning of this project, I was able to spend two years in Europe including two short trips to the Soviet Union. During these travels I talked with people of every class and every shade of opinion. I had been sent abroad to study conditions from the point of view of economic planning and I did so as thoroughly as I could. All my experiences bore out the correctness of the Communist position. Perhaps most impressive of all were the contacts I made with diplomats, business men, government officials outside the Soviet Union. Speaking frankly about their plans and intentions, they revealed that their motives and methods were exactly those attributed to them by Marxist writers. Wherever I observed the Communist Party in action it displayed the same characteristics which had drawn me to the American Party. In every struggle for the interests of the people the Communists were in the forefront just as they were in America. In every great university I found Communists working just as my comrades were working at home in Berkeley. In the Soviet Union, armed with a speaking knowledge of Russian, I saw what socialism could accomplish in what was formerly a backward country. As a student of planning I observed something of the inner workings of the Soviet economic system and saw for myself the falsity of the picture presented by our own economists.

I returned from Europe with experiences, every one of which supported the conclusions at which I had arrived as an undergraduate. It was only natural that I should become more active in the Communist Party, particularly because of the crisis facing America. My father's act in disinheriting me is merely a striking reflection of this crisis. Over a period of years it had become clear to him, as a beneficiary and defender of capitalism, that I had definitely allied myself with the working class in its struggle for socialism. By this action he has dramatically illustrated the fact that class ties are stronger than family ties.

KENNETH MAY.

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Washington Looks at Moscow

Congressman Sabath asks, "Why should not the United States try to cultivate the good will of the Soviet Republic?" Mr. Welles can answer that. What about real aid to China?

Washington.

REP. Adolph Sabath of Illinois is a well-meaning and rather bewildered old man. He is the administration stalwart who replaced the unlamented John O'Connor as chairman of the powerful House Rules Committee. For a time he fought hard if not very effectively against the shrewd committee reactionaries. After the outbreak of the war, however, Sabath found himself, as a loyal supporter of the President, mouthing the same phrases as his reactionary opponents in the committee. But unlike many of the tories both inside and outside Congress, Sabath did take the business of national defense quite seriously and literally. The one thing he seems unable to understand is why in the interest of national defense the United States does not reach an immediate understanding with the Soviet Union.

"And regardless of what the Nazi, fascist, or capitalistic groups in the United States may say about Russia, I reiterate that the best interests of the United States will be served not by criticizing and assailing Russia but by taking just the opposite course and seeking her friendly cooperation," said Sabath recently in a speech which he inserted in the Congressional Record. Rather plaintively Sabath asked: "Why should not the United States try to cultivate the good will of the Soviet Republic?" Why not indeed? That is a question which Sabath will have to direct to the President who shares responsibility with the wrecking crew in the State Department for a policy of sabotaging good relations with Moscow.

Consider the latest contributions of the administration toward friendship with the Soviet Union. First, Congress passed an administration-sponsored bill giving the President power to requisition machine tools purchased by foreign countries. Many of these machine tools were purchased a long time ago by the USSR. The administration stopped the shipment of the tools, despite the fact that they were made to Soviet specifications and were apparently not suitable for American armaments manufacture. Second, there was the delicate reference in the Cleveland speech of our own Sumner Welles to the "dismemberment" of Rumania and the "spoliations" of Finland. With that old Harvard finesse, Welles implied that the Soviets are on the side of the savages in the "age-old struggle of the lowest that is in human nature against the highest, of barbarism against civilization, of darkness against light."

In the same Cleveland speech, Welles pretty much gave the answer from the administration's point of view as to why relations with the USSR are not improved. As the three primary requirements of American foreign policy in the Far East he listed complete respect by all powers for the legitimate rights of the United States, equality of opportunity for the trade of all nations, and respect for those international agreements or treaties to which the United States is a party. Welles made it plain, however, that this last point was hardly paramount. The little matter of treaties, he said, could be settled by "peaceful negotiation" to arrange whatever changes are necessary. What it boils down to is simply that American commercial interests in the Far East come first. The independence of China, it will be noted, was not mentioned by Mr. Welles at all.

It also follows that there is still room, as Welles said, for negotiations with the Japanese concerning the entire Far Eastern situation. There is still room for dickering, for appeasement. The zigzag course of recent embargo measures against Japan can only be fitted into such a policy. American aviation gas was shut off from the Japanese but not motor gas. Only high octane aviation gas was embargoed. The Japanese are still able to use for their bombers some of the gas coming through. The United States waited for years before stopping the shipment of scrap iron to Japan. When the administration finally acted, the Japanese were given twenty days' leeway in which to buy up supplies. There was, incidentally, no notice at all when the administration seized machine tools bought by the Soviet Union. A sharp conflict between United States Steel and Little Steel was apparently one of the important factors involved in the long delay in barring scrap and in granting the twenty-day period of grace. US Steel has a large number of Bessemer furnaces which are used for manufacturing synthetic scrap. Hence it has favored free and unrestricted world trade in scrap. Republic Steel and Weirton Steel, on the other hand, have inclined toward an embargo on exports so that they can obtain scrap on the American market at better rates. There is still no embargo on copper and on various kinds of machinery which Japanese industry needs badly. The President's limited embargo orders have not applied to exports from the Philippines, long an important center of supply for the Japanese. Aid to China has followed the same kind of tortuous pattern as our punitive steps against Japan. China recently attempted to float a $100,000,000 loan in this country, and wound up with $25,000,000. The idea seems to be that we will help China hold out a little longer but not enough to score a decisive advantage over the Mikado.

It is against this background of appeasement in the Far East that the recent conversations between Sumner Welles and Soviet Ambassador Oumansky have taken place. It might well be asked why Welles initiated the conferences with the Soviet Union at all. The State Department has shown no inclination to talk seriously to the USSR, but it has shown an inclination to talk. After all, it is in the interest of American diplomacy in the Far East for the Japanese to get the idea that negotiations are going on with the Soviets. So Mr. Welles swallowed some of his Western civilization and talked to the barbaric Russians. Hints have since been thrown around by State Department officials that the conversations broke down because Oumansky was "rude" and Welles felt insulted. The Soviet ambassador, so the plaint goes, is no gentleman.

The reason for the futility of the talks to date, however, has nothing to do with Oumansky's alleged lack of manners. The administration might be willing perhaps to work with the Soviet Union—if this could be done on a basis favorable to American imperialism. But the Soviet government has apparently demanded that it be treated as an equal. Obviously, it must have insisted that serious discussions be preceded by an end to administration interference with Soviet-American trade. State Department sources have implied that the United States could deal with the Soviet representatives if they would stop "making demands"; if they would forget that they have been pushed around by a government which only as recently as last winter, during the Finnish war, was beating the drums for an anti-Soviet crusade. More than protocol is involved in the Soviet attitude. The issue would seem to boil down to a matter of whether an agreement is to be reached on equal terms between two powerful nations, or whether the USSR is to be used to pull the chestnuts of American imperialism out of the fire. The Soviet Union has shown no inclination toward playing the latter role for anybody.

So the State Department continues on a course which may involve the United States in war simultaneously in the Pacific and in the Atlantic. America's attitude toward Japan is strikingly similar to the course followed by Great Britain in regard to Germany just before the outbreak of the war.

Aid to China, an agreement with Moscow, and a real, inclusive embargo against Japan are steps which would help to keep the United States from hurtling down the road to war. There is a growing popular feeling in favor of such a policy. This is to a very limited extent reflected in some official circles and among some army and navy officers who favor a Soviet rapprochement for strictly military reasons. It is this feeling that was behind Representative Sabath's question as to why the United States does not try to establish better relations with the USSR. ADAM LAPIN.

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Editors
A. B. MAGIL, RUTH MCKENNEY, JOSEPH NORTH.

Associate Editor
BARBARA GILES

Business Manager
CARL BRISTEL.

West Coast Representative
GEORGE WILLNER.

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Jackson Reneges Informally

FOR three years the CIO has fought to withhold government contracts from firms that violate the Wagner act or other federal labor laws. With the coming of "national defense" involving billions of dollars in contracts with industry, the CIO's campaign became more urgent and more militant. Several weeks ago John L. Lewis wrote the President requesting an executive order to government procurement agencies to buy only from companies obeying the federal laws. His letter got no response. A bill embodying the CIO's demand had been killed by the House leadership. On September 13, however, Mr. Roosevelt sent to Congress a memorandum of the National Defense Commission's "policy": that all work for the defense program "should comply with" federal laws affecting labor. And on the 30th of September Sidney Hillman, "labor representative" on the Defense Commission, reaffirmed this policy and made public two letters "implementing" it, from Secretary of the Navy Knox and Assistant Secretary of War Patterson. Finally, last week, Attorney General Jackson delivered an informal opinion to the effect that the NLRB's findings were "conclusive and binding" on other government executive agencies unless reversed by the courts.

A tremendous victory for the CIO—perhaps. Under attack from the monopolists, led by the New York *Times,* Attorney General Jackson almost immediately claimed that he had *not* said contractors of government orders had to obey the law. All he had said was that NLRB decisions, by which the Defense Commission is supposed to be guided, were to be taken as final unless and until the court reversed them. Further, Louis Stark of the *Times* reported, October 6, that "a high Defense Commission official said anonymously today that the governmental procurement divisions were not bound to withhold contracts from firms held by the Labor Board to be in violation of the Wagner act." More than this, Mr. Jackson gave a second informal opinion, the day after his first, that contracts already made would not be affected by the commission's "policy" of insisting on obedience to the law. This is extremely interesting. For more than $6,000,000,000 worth of contracts had already been made when the attorney general delivered his first opinion. Four days before Roosevelt sent his memorandum to Congress, the navy had let contracts to the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corp. for some $600,000,000 for aircraft carriers, cruisers, and destroyers. Eugene Grace's Bethlehem Steel now holds a total of $1,050,000,000 in government orders—a sixth of all the war contracts granted thus far. Its insolent violation of the Wagner and Walsh-Healey acts has led to several local strikes in the industry; four thousand workers at the Sparrows Point, Md. yards of the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corp. are now on strike. Last week leaders of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee met in Pittsburgh to determine the advisability of a general strike against Bethlehem. On the first day of their conference Attorney General Jackson issued his informal opinion, which was understood to forbid the granting of contracts to companies like Bethlehem as long as they disobeyed the Wagner act. Nevertheless, the conference authorized the SWOC executive board to write Eugene Grace asking for a conference with Philip Murray, SWOC chief. It also empowered the board to call a general strike if necessary, to force Bethlehem into compliance with the law.

AS WE GO TO PRESS, Mr. Grace has not yet answered the SWOC, nor has the administration at Washington clarified Mr. Jackson's or the Defense Commission's contradictory statements to the *Times.* Beyond those two question marks are many others: how many of the two hundred companies which have NLRB charges against them have already received substantial war contracts? Why did Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Hillman wait until such contracts had been awarded before announcing their "policy" of withholding the orders from firms that disobeyed the law? Even if such a policy is actually put into effect, will it last beyond November 5?

There's no question, at least, about organized labor's determination to see this thing through. The SWOC is pushing its organizing drive in Bethlehem's thirty-two plants; the campaign to organize the Ford Motor Co. (beneficiary of government contracts and violator of labor laws) goes forward with great energy. This—not Mr. Roosevelt's "policy" or Mr. Jackson's "informal opinion"—will decide the outcome of what may be one of the most crucial battles in American labor history.

Vigilante Justice

WHO stands for force and violence in this country? Get the facts and you will arrive at the proper conclusions. Perhaps as you read these lines, Eli Jaffe, a frail, talented young writer whose articles are well known to NEW MASSES readers, is being beaten up again in the tank cell of an Oklahoma City jail into which he was thrown some weeks ago by local authorities. He is one of the eight men and women now on trial in Oklahoma City on charges involving possible penalties of twenty years' imprisonment under the state criminal syndicalism law. Congressman Marcantonio, in an open letter to Attorney General Jackson, revealed some shocking facts about the case. He told how jailers have been plying other prisoners with liquor, inciting them against Jaffe, and then disappearing from the vicinity until the young man had been severely beaten. The trial of eight is being held under similar circumstances of terrorism. Marcantonio spoke of "unreasonable searches," of "infliction of cruel and unusual punishment, in the setting of excessive bail" (originally $100,000 each, no less), and the Congressman cited a list of infractions of the Constitution that is too long to recapitulate here.

This is the time of big trials, frameup, physical violence. The state that tortured Tom Joad into a life of hungry wandering and which let loose vast migrations in search of bread sets the pace: it has plenty of emulators. The great commonwealth of Illinois has seized three citizens involved in soliciting signatures for a minority party (you'll find their rights in the Constitution of the land) and charged them with criminal syndicalism. Their lawyer was also arrested on the same charges. Further east, in Pittsburgh where things are done on a grand scale, forty-three workers are on trial for the same "crime." Thus the administration that gave the green light to the vigilantes and their justice uses force and violence against the leading minority party in the nation. Many of those in the docket are not members of the Communist Party, but that makes no difference. The violence spreads. The Communists, who time and again have made clear their opposition to force and violence, have had their thesis proven to the hilt. The generators of force, the protagonists of violence, are the anti-popular hosts—the well-clad, well-fed worthies who seek to perpetuate their profit system regardless of the cost in life and human dignity.

The One Honest Candidate

IF PATRIOTISM may be defined as heartfelt concern for the people of one's native land, then the speeches of Earl Browder last week remain the most patriotic of those made by all the candidates. They are, we believe, the only bright spots in a campaign unprecedented for its political murkiness, for the duplicity of its two leading candidates. Mr. Browder centered his talks about the leading question of our time: shall it be war or peace for America? One speech was directed to those who stand to suffer most if we go to war: the youth. The other speech offered a solution to 1940's most critical problem: how to keep the peace.

The press took careful note of the Communist candidate's remarks on this issue. His solution was "close collaboration between our country, China, and the Soviet Union." He saw in that "constellation of powers" a stable combination, "for these countries have no rivalries or conflicting interests." Such a combination would be strategically powerful, he pointed out, because "it would hold the keys to three continents," combining between seven hundred and eight hundred million of the world's population. And should the USA enter into it on the basis of genuine democratic cooperation, abandoning its present policy of imperialistic expansion, the combination "would be morally invincible, attracting the enthusiastic adherence of the suffering peoples all over the globe."

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To America's youth, he posed the following question: why did the statesmen and "gentlemen of the moneybags" raise such a furore last year when $500,000,000 was asked for training and educating youth to useful work, when this year, these self-same legislators signed fifteen billlions away in a mad impulse toward war? It was his opinion that these "great men" had something less than concern for the well-being of our youth. And Mr. Browder offered the only solution to this generation's woes. "The old order is dead," he said. "It can never be resurrected." Not Willkie, not "ten thousand Willkies" can bring back the gilded days of Coolidge and Hoover. Not Roosevelt "nor ten thousand Roosevelts can restore life to a moribund economic and social system" through the violence of war. Mr. Browder's answer was one tens of thousands in America are pondering today: the way to socialism. Indeed the youth of the land, and their parents as well, will profit from studying the words this candidate of a minority party utters. They are great words, great with the forecast of tomorrow.

Draft Registration

NEXT Wednesday, October 16, is registration day under the new conscription law. NEW MASSES urges all its readers who are eligible, to register and comply with the law in every respect. This magazine will not be a party to any effort, from whatever source, to violate or obstruct the law. However, in urging compliance, we do not abandon our opposition to the principle embodied in this measure or our belief that conscription is contrary to the interests of the majority of the people. And we join with the American Peace Mobilization and many other organizations in supporting the bill introduced by Rep. Vito Marcantonio of New York for the repeal of the draft law.

An immediate problem is the protection of the rights of labor and the common people in the application of the law. It is already evident that one of the crucial questions is the composition of the draft boards. A reactionary board can use its broad powers to discriminate against unionists and progressives. The fact that members of the boards will serve without pay, far from assuring democratic practice, may result in the choice of a preponderant number of the well-to-do who can afford to give freely of their time. That this danger is real is evident from the fact that in Michigan the draft boards chosen by Republican Governor Dickinson consist of 252 business men, 106 attorneys, forty-four public officials, twenty-four bankers, fourteen newspaper executives, thirty-four farmers, thirteen educators, seven physicians, five clergymen, four dentists, and three each, or less, of social workers, YMCA secretaries, clerks, and factory workers. It is to prevent a repetition of this in New York that Joseph Curran, president of the Greater New York Industrial Union Council, has written Governor Lehman requesting that one-half the members of each local board be chosen from labor and farm organizations.

From Destroyers to Credits

WE SUGGEST that you note down the date Sept. 30, 1940. That is the date on which Senator King of Utah introduced a bill calling for loans to Britain and suspension of the credit limitations in the Johnson and Neutrality Acts. It was introduced exactly one year and nine days after President Roosevelt sent his message to Congress urging repeal of the arms embargo but specifically asking that credits to belligerents be barred.

Who is behind the King bill? Certainly not Senator King's constituents who in the recent Democratic primaries let him know that at the end of the year his services would no longer be required. President Roosevelt, when questioned at his press conference, put on his best "Who—me?" look and said he did not plan to make any such recommendation. "That is understandable at this time," comments Ralph Hendershot, financial editor of the New York *World-Telegram,* "in view of the approaching election contest. Many people feel pretty strongly on the subject, and an indication of approval might cost quite a number of votes."

In other words, after the election another *coup d'etat* in the manner of the destroyers-bases deal can be pulled off behind the backs of the people. Pointing out that the British won't need credits for at least another year anyway, Hendershot writes of future developments with cynical frankness.

> It can be reasonably certain, however, that this legislation will be lifted when and if it becomes imperative. And, of course, if, as many people anticipate, we join forces with Great Britain a few months hence, the chances are that we would toss our financial resources into the pot also.

Gauleiter of Morningside

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER'S simultaneous declaration of war against German fascism and American democracy was a serious indiscretion from the reactionary point of view. For in expressing so blatantly what more tactful warmongers are thinking and planning, Nicholas I of Columbia aroused the students and teachers of America to the actual peril that confronts them. Recognizing that Butler has jumped the gun, even his most ardent admirer, the New York *Herald Tribune,* was forced to mildly criticize his outrageous attack on academic freedom. "When war comes," noted the *Herald Tribune,* there will be time enough to temper the public utterances of "outspoken faculty members."

The same Nicholas Miraculous who expelled students for participating in anti-Nazi demonstrations on the Columbia campus a few years ago, today orders the students to fling away their books and take up arms. In other respects he is more consistent. He has never granted academic freedom to students and he continues to deny such freedom today. He has never respected the American tradition of freedom and he merely renews his threat to punish anybody on his faculty who stands by that tradition. He has restated in 1940 the tyrannical policy which led to his dismissal of independent professors at Columbia in 1917.

But even more significant than Butler's decree is the storm of protest that it has evoked. Student demonstrations at Columbia and elsewhere have given convincing proof that students will not be intimidated by Butler's threats. Outstanding scholars on the Columbia faculty, including Professors Harold C. Urey, Walter Rautenstrauch, Franz Boas, Wesley C. Mitchell, Ruth Benedict, Robert S. Lynd, and Clyde R. Miller have taken issue with Butler through the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom. A strongly worded attack on the Columbia president's dictatorial concept of education has been issued by the Teachers Union locals in New York.

British Cabinet Shifts

WE WONDER how many British workers will be impressed with the latest changes in Britain's Cabinet. Mr. Chamberlain passes from the picture, one of the best-hated, most discredited of men, two years almost to the day since he returned from Hitler's embrace at Munich. But most of his bosom companions remain. Lord Halifax, the architect of Chamberlain's policies, still controls the foreign office, while two of England's worst politicians have not only remained in the cabinet but have actually been elevated to the inner cabinet itself: Sir Kingsley Wood, Chamberlain's air minister for a time, and Sir John Anderson, formerly minister of Home Security who now takes Chamberlain's post. Kingsley Wood is one of the tory bosses; Anderson's name is notorious in Ireland from the Black and Tan Days, his record as governor in Bengal is one of the most damnable, while his mean treatment of anti-fascist refugees, his suspension of civil liberties, and the criminal fiasco of his air raid shelter policies have caused major scandals in the past year.

Other Cabinet changes tell the same story. The Socialist, Herbert Morrison, takes over Sir John Anderson's post, but the Ministry of Supply goes to Sir Andrew Duncan: Duncan is a director of the Bank of England and chairman of the British Iron and Steel Federation. And his own former position on the Board of Trade is filled by Captain Oliver Lyttelton, who is closely tied in with those Rio Tinto mining interests that helped Franco murder Spanish democracy, and with the International Nickel Co. He was until recently the London manager for the German *Metallgesellschaft.*

The inner cabinet has been expanded from six to eight. Minister of Labor Ernest Bevin's accession means that the Socialists have three seats out of eight whereas they formerly had two out of six. Unquestionably these latest changes reflect deep popular indignation with the air raid shelter situation and the general conduct of the war. But the plain fact is that while the Socialists are doing a job for British capitalism that the tories themselves could no longer do, the tories retain the whip-hand. In the rest of the cabinet the figures of ill-

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repute are still there: Robert S. Hudson, Duff Cooper, Malcolm MacDonald, and Sir John Simon. Two key positions, the secretaryships for the colonies and for India, still rest in the hands of the die-hard imperialists: Lord Lloyd and L. S. Amery.

Britain's ruling class has several centuries of experience in these matters: Chamberlain was dropped most reluctantly; Halifax, Wood, and Anderson are kept on so that when popular indignation demands concessions, they can also be replaced. Only in so far as the British working class insists upon extending its positions at the expense of the tycoons and the Munichmen, in the direction of a people's government, a new foreign policy, and a people's peace, will its interests be served.

Brenner Impasse

IF THE thesis of our recent editorials is valid, namely that the war is widening out into the Mediterranean and African zones, then it becomes possible to correlate much of last week's news, whose most dramatic item was Hitler's conference with Mussolini at the Brenner Pass. Reports of Italian troop movement along the Greek-Albanian border have multiplied; some stories say that German planes are concentrating in Libya to assist the Italian campaign in Egypt; other dispatches speak of German troop passage across the Mediterranean via Italy.

It seems clear that the decisive reason why Spain did not enter the war at this time lies in her internal situation. All observers report hunger rampant, the Spanish people unconquered despite the terror, while conflicts continue between the Carlists and the Falange, between the Falange and the army. Franco is supposed to favor a less antagonistic policy to Britain, his brother-in-law Ramon Serrano Suner is supposed to lean heavily toward the axis. Whether or not Spain enters the war at the moment, it is nevertheless true that the German-Italian campaign for a redivision of North and West Africa must go through Spanish soil.

So long as the British hold Gibraltar, Europe faces the blockade, while Italian troops will be continually harassed, as they have been along the Egyptian coast, by British shelling from off-shore. Marshal Graziani's force has penetrated to Sidi Barrani on the route to Alexandria, but for almost a month further advance has been delayed. Mussolini is waiting for the desert to cool (the best operations call for autumn weather), hoping as always that Egypt's divided regime will come to terms. Italy has close to 200,000 troops available, plus a German motorized division, a strong Mediterranean fleet and air force, operating from the Balearics, from the Dodecanese islands, North Africa, and the tip of Italy itself. Mussolini can also move northwards from Ethiopia, and will bring pressure for access to the eastern Mediterranean through Greece. He may even, as some reports indicate, get French permission for the use of Tunisian and Syrian vantage points. Britain has fewer troops, her air force is tied down on the heavily battered island, but there are good bases at Crete, Malta, Cyprus, Haifa in Palestine, and the main base at Alexandria.

Inevitably the struggle for Suez involves the heart of Britain's oil-bearing empire, the Middle Eastern gateway to India. Here also lie the interests of Turkey and the desire of the USSR to keep any hostile power from control of the Dardanelles. In this sense, then, the problem of the Near East is quite different from the problem of Africa. The fascist dilemma is that the Mediterranean cannot be controlled without Suez, nor Africa divided without approaching the gateways to Asia. And yet it is at the gateway to Asia that Germany and Italy face larger problems than in Africa itself.

THE ENTRANCE of German troops into Rumanian Wallachia must be considered a phase of the more intensive exploitation and direct control of Rumanian oil resources which are implicit in the German hegemony of capitalist Europe. It is unquestionably related to Italian pressure upon Greece and the axis campaign in the eastern Mediterranean. The presence of German divisions near the frontier of the Moldavian Soviet Republic is not in itself significant, since Germany and the USSR share a common frontier all through former Poland. Reports of a German naval base construction at Mamaia on the Black Sea have yet to be confirmed; the scope of German occupation in Rumania has yet to be defined. Only recently the USSR reaffirmed its interest in the international control of the Danube river; it shares with Turkey a mutual concern for the neutrality of the Dardanelles. In what way the latest Balkan developments relate to these larger problems awaits further clarification.

Post Pacto

REACTIONS to the German-Japanese-Italian alliance have developed along predictable lines. Most newspapers interpreted it as a challenge to the United States, an effort to influence the policy of assistance to Britain. Insofar as the dominant newspapers favor such support, their editorials emphasized the need to increase it. On the other hand, if the triple alliance represents Hitler's admission of difficulty in the campaign against Britain, as most people believe, this in itself takes the edge off the supposed imminence of German invasion against the United States, and therefore, robs all the pro-war, pro-British elements of one of their most hysterical devices. For if Hitler cannot invade England, and if Japan cannot conquer China it follows that Hitler cannot possibly come across the Atlantic nor the Mikado across the wide expanse of the Pacific. Thus disappears one of the bogeys which NEW MASSES debunked from the outset last May.

British reaction to the pact saw the United States moving closer to war, and most observers in England liked it. In one of the New York *Times* stories from London we were interested to find confirmation of our suspicion that London and Washington have formed a secret military alliance, as our editorial last week surmised. Said the *Times* correspondent on September 30: "The question is not the extent to which the governments of the two nations are actually working together, but the extent to which they are willing to say they are working together—and that is something for Washington, not London, to decide."

Several times last week spokesmen for Japan reiterated the possibility of war with the United States unless her "new order" was recognized. This was the burden of a particularly rabid interview with Prince Konoye. *Asahi* and *Hochi,* leading Japanese newspapers, blamed the United States for having forced Japan into Germany's arms—all of which indicates that Japan's position is weaker than her bold facade implies. Most newspapers declared for help to China, but such declarations are meaningless unless we realize that China is the *first line trench of democracy in Asia.* Credits to China have been small: seventy million since July 1937 compared with four times that sum from the USSR. China has been able to use only twenty million in view of the poor credit terms, while the blocking of trade routes, especially the Burma Road, makes the credit itself merely one more move in Sumner Welles' "Chinese checker" game with Japan.

For the first time in a long time American newspapers have been forced to consider the real position of the USSR. Most editorialists last week suggested that the German-Italian-Japanese pact was directed against the USSR. If so, the whole thesis of "communazi" collaboration falls apart, while the objective identity of interest between the American people and the USSR emerges. The *Nation* and *New Republic* carefully skirt the issue of improvement in Soviet American relations; the very keen and perspicacious editors of the *Nation* try to make their readers believe that the USSR is somehow "in Nazi chains," from which it could be delivered only by a British victory! They seem to have forgotten what happened after Versailles.

The truth is that the Soviet position is strong; as always she is interested in the victory of neither imperialism, but the common victory of all the belligerent peoples. Soviet diplomacy, as H. G. Wells observed last week, is interested in peace, and defends the resources of the Soviet people without plunging them into war. The issue has now been posed before the American public: shall we emulate the bullheaded arrogance of Chamberlainism, and land a year from now where the British people are today? or shall we, as the *Nation* and *New Republic* once advised the peoples of Britain and France, seriously cooperate with the USSR, above all, in common help to China, and thus keep America at peace and help restore a people's peace abroad?

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REVIEW AND COMMENT

Thurman Arnold's Big Stick

The new book by the head of the anti-trust division reveals him as one of labor's most virulent enemies. . . . Rilke's wartime letters reviewed by Isidor Schneider.

THE BOTTLENECKS OF BUSINESS, *by Thurman W. Arnold. Reynal & Hitchcock. $2.50.*

BEWARE the cynic in reformer's clothing. Thurman Arnold is well acquainted with the techniques of befuddlement by which big business and its government gull the American people. In his *Folklore of Capitalism* it amused him to examine these techniques. In the present work he is revealed as an expert practitioner himself.

On the strength of this book the labor movement may well post Thurman Arnold's name among its most virulent enemies. I say this for two reasons. First, of course, is the interpretation he, as assistant Attorney General in charge of the Anti-Trust Division, has put upon the Sherman act as applied to trade unions, and his callous evasion of the Clayton act with its exemption of labor from the definition of a "conspiracy in restraint of trade." Second, this book defines Arnold as one of the most cunning instruments of monopoly on its march toward fascism, a man with a subtle and dangerous role.

Mr. Arnold proves to the hilt the Marxist thesis that monopolies restrict the market by reducing the ability to consume. He mentions the Brookings Institute figure of $248,000,000,000 in goods and services which this country could have produced above what it did in the twelve years from 1922 to 1934. On this basis, monopoly capitalism is shown to have withheld $8,000 in goods and services from each of our thirty million families. In every field, from cigarettes to gasoline, from veal chops to wall board, from second-hand cars to eye-glasses, the trusts take their toll. Mr. Arnold expresses concern over the fact that people are able to buy fewer things they need because of these "bottlenecks." It is his job to curb them. But Thurman Arnold is no "trust-buster." What he attacks are big "industries which are not efficient or do not pass efficiency on to consumers." All this sounds reasonable. And it is Mr. Arnold's job to make it palatable. "The American consumer," he says, "does not hate big business and he should not be made to hate it."

What Mr. Arnold's book shows plainly is that he has actually been shadow boxing with big business. Take all the building materials suits, the trials of milk distributors in Chicago, that resounding victory with little substance in the Ethyl case—the list of prosecutions may be as long as your arm, but they have not by one whit altered or weakened the domination of the monopolies in American life. What is more, Mr. Arnold is prepared to make concessions to combinations "necessary" for the armaments program. It is Mr. Arnold's task to give the impression that the government is actually fighting the monopolies.

In his book there is as damning a record of business chicanery and the tricks of Sherman act evasion as you will find anywhere. But Mr. Arnold is forever finding excuses for business men. He tells of illegal combinations, of the use of force, of political influence. Naked for all to see is story after story of the corruption which pervades business and all it touches. For this Mr. Arnold has mild reproof and kindly tolerance.

But when it comes to labor, he thunders. Business has attacked the Wagner act, he holds, because government has failed to "confine organized labor to legitimate labor objectives." Industrialists are bitter because they have felt that "they were being compelled to deal with labor leaders who they knew were not interested in the legitimate objectives of labor." The implication is clear that Mr. Arnold is in favor of having industrialists select the goals for labor, its "legitimate" aspirations. As he sees it, it is in undemocratic unions, where leaders gain and keep power by coercion, that corruption flourishes on a large scale. He does not tell us what role business plays in corrupting such labor leaders. It is the crookedness of business that is reflected in the abuses which do exist in a few trade unions.

Thurman Arnold tells us that the anti-labor policies of the Anti-Trust Division "will be a protection to the right of labor to organize with democratic control within the unions." But it is he who has sent the leaders of the democratic Furriers' Union to jail, he who persecutes and imprisons rank-and-file truck drivers. It is he who is now using the Sherman act in jurisdictional disputes, calling them a "restraint of trade." With this trick he offers big business a new technique for smashing labor organizations by calling in moribund paper locals or creating them to fight a militant union—as a "trust"!

Against monopoly Arnold supplies the pantomime of assault, the choreography to the music of Roosevelt's siren song to the people. Against labor Arnold wields the lash where J. Edgar Hoover cannot contrive a case.

FRANK J. WALLACE.

Michaels

From a Garden Refuge

WARTIME LETTERS, *by Rainer Maria Rilke. Translated by M. D. Herder Nortor. W. W. Norton. 279 pages. $2.50.*

RILKE is probably one of the most sensitive writers who ever lived. His letters show it even more directly than his exquisite poems. They exhibit insights so fine that reading them is like seeing emotions under a microscope. But the emotions are highly articulated, ordered, selected—not losing proportion even when magnified. They are personal emotions to begin with, and they are kept within the contours of a life vigilantly defending its individuality. Rilke's incessant traveling and his friendships sustained, as his letters show, with a preservative tact almost fabulous in its delicacy, served the purpose of protecting him from larger, more public, less arrangeable emotions.

A sensitiveness as fine as Rilke's, combined with the capacity to give it quite flawless expression, is perhaps achievement enough. But it should not be mistaken for wisdom. The letters are keen and sensitive responses to events, and to repercussions of events, within certain self-limited areas of consciousness. Outside this range, however, they are ignorant, uncomprehending, and *insensitive,* particularly when they touch upon social design and social movement.

Feeling no involvement with mankind and the world, for in the æsthetic realm spiritual autonomy was assumed, Rilke was little concerned with causes or directions in the war. Sealed in a sort of antiseptic resignation to other disasters, his chief lamentation, aside from the beautiful expressions of grief, and condolence for personal bereavements, was that the war was a universal and destructive intrusion upon the processes of civilization. His constant yearning was for a restoration

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of "continuity," which meant chiefly for him the resumption of his interrupted work. Perhaps it is well for world culture that this great artist should have been so insulated that almost immediately after the four-year interruption he was able to resume his productiveness. However, it also indicates the limits of his observations upon the war.

Therefore, his letters during wartime have a limited special value. They reflect the reactions of a small, cultivated leisure class, an island group within the encompassing middle class, sheltering the privileged sensitive against vulgarities and crassness. Death and despair reached this island, which remained isolated even in its woes. The group was incapable of large understanding, of identification with humanity, confident, perhaps, that as a sort of composite nerve of humanity, it endured the suffering of all men. Needless to say, the odor of a highly subtilized conceit distills from all this exquisiteness.

Essentially, the letters are a report of the destruction of five or six years of Rilke's writing life. Considering the high quality of his poetry, this is a considerable loss, one of the ruins uncounted in the published casualties of the World War. This, however, should not make us forget that there are other sorts of sensitive souls who reacted differently to imperialist war. There was Barbusse, living within a different range of emotions, feeling not isolation from humanity but identification, not burying his talent in a succession of garden refuges, but making it bear fruit to sustain mankind in disaster.

This is not an attempt to belittle Rilke, but rather to accord him his just due. It is no service to Rilke to expect profundity where there is none, to dim his significance by enlarging it to cover areas it cannot light. This can lead only to disappointed expectations and subsequent neglect. His perceptions are extremely sensitive within a small personal range. Outside this his observations are surprisingly shallow or worse. Seeking his contribution within the area in which its achievement is greatest, one has much to find.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

Wet Kindling

THE FIRE AND THE WOOD, *by R. C. Hutchinson. Farrar & Rinehart. $2.50.*

"THE FIRE AND THE WOOD" is advertised as "a love story of a doctor and a patient," and in this capacity it attains a certain excellence. There is considerable subtlety and skill in the unwinding of its psychological skein. In the prose poetry that illumines its moments of crisis can be glimpsed some of the power that has won Mr. Hutchinson extravagant praise as a stylist. But the book pretends to something more. Its small story travels on a sea of contemporary history; it would presume to be a serious novel of ideas, a fable of the Nazi terror.

There is something false and opportunistic about Mr. Hutchinson's novel. Its portentous

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backdrop is unfortunately used only to create atmosphere, to strengthen the personal tragedy of the young Jewish doctor and the patient whom he learns to love in the course of a medical experiment. The colossal inundation of fascism is experienced unanalytically, as would be a catastrophe of nature.

There is one important suggestion in the book which is handled with revealing insensitivity. It is at this point that we are made aware of the separation of the sheath of event from the inner story which should more properly be its interpreter. As Dr. Zeppichmann prepares to give his new tuberculin its first hazardous trial on a new subject, he reassures himself with the phrase "The individual does not matter." We immediately notice the connotation of this false scientivism. By analogy it connects the personal story with the larger sum of contemporary experience represented alongside it. But no real unity can be felt between the elements of this work. Mr. Hutchinson's hero becomes at last more human and mature. His transformation, however, is hardly connected with his political experience. It is the discovery of personal love, and it cannot sustain or control the welter of realistic incident that gives this book its anti-fascist flavor. Thus the novel is a curious mixture of rhapsodic inner monologue and memorable shots of realism jostling each other in the author's confusion of purpose. In reducing the vastly stirring background to the scale of a tenuous love story, he has succeeded in dwarfing the potentialities of his material.

MILLICENT LANG.

Defense "Message"

NATIONAL DEFENSE! HOW CAN I HELP? *by "An American Family." Hawley Publishing Co. Redding Ridge, Conn. 25c.*

THE country is currently being flooded with "Americanism" pamphlets issued by a variety of sources, individual authors, the Legion, various suspiciously vigilante-like organizations. The latest is this, written by "An American Family" that is concerned about the "dangers" to America.

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GORDON CARROLL.

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H. S.

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IT IS presumptuous to dismiss in a short review eleven long verse dramas that represent the work of ten years. But the sad fact remains that Maxwell Anderson, who evidently desires to return to the great tradition of Shakespeare and write about our modern problems in the terms of the Elizabethan poet, has been even more presumptuous. For Mr. Anderson simply does not possess the depth, the scope, or the grandeur of his model, and his enormous volume of work in this field is more of the library than of the stage.

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today, he came closest to achieving his heart's desire. But even in this play his verse is no more than adequate, his drama no more than posturing. He has set himself the enormously difficult task of documenting his intimations of mortality, morality, and human tragedy. Unfortunately he nowhere come to grips with life or illuminates it more than dimly. He lacks the equipment for this undertaking, and he probably knows it. That is his peculiar tragedy.

A. B.

Sights & Sounds

"Time in the Sun"

Serge Eisenstein's second Mexican film reviewed by Alvah Bessie.

OF THE 150,000 feet of film shot in Mexico in 1937 by the great Soviet director, Eisenstein, two separate and more or less independent films have been edited. The first was *Thunder Over Mexico,* which dealt largely with the problem of peonage. The second is *Time in the Sun,* edited by Marie Seton and showing at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse. Neither film represents the work as conceived by Eisenstein, but both are distinctly worth seeing.

Miss Seton's emphasis is on the continuity of the *haciendados'* exploitation of the Mexican Indians, and the life-and-death philosophy of these great people. Presented in documentary form, with sound-track, and voices speaking throughout, *Time in the Sun* is less a screen play in its editing than a series of disintegrated shots, almost every one magnificent in one way or another, but lacking the continuity a screen play should have. Without the commentator, the film would not have held together. With him, there is a semblance of unity that is much less impressive than the fragments of what inevitably must have been a great moving picture, had it ever been completed.

You will have to see this film for the enormous power of Eisenstein's artistic imagination, which shows in brilliant and subtle juxtapositions of subjects living and inanimate, in the photography of E. Tisse, in brief scraps of narrative treatment interspersed throughout. Here again is the horrible punishment of the peons by living burial and trampling by horses, the brilliant and tragic pageantry of Corpus Christi, the feast of the dead celebrated by the living with skeleton masks.

ALVAH BESSIE.

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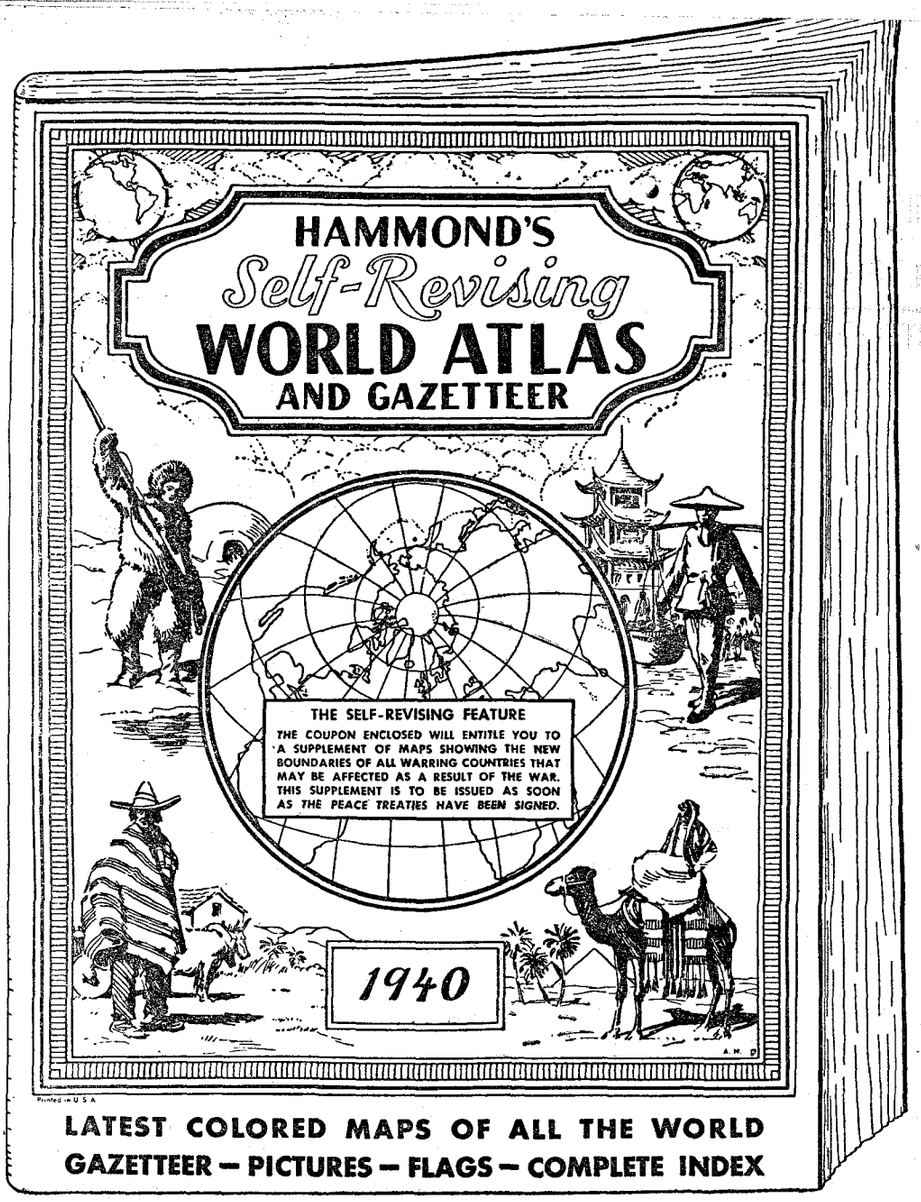
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